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# HISTORY

OF THE

# ANCIENT CHRISTIANS

INHABITING THE VALLEYS OF THE ALPS.

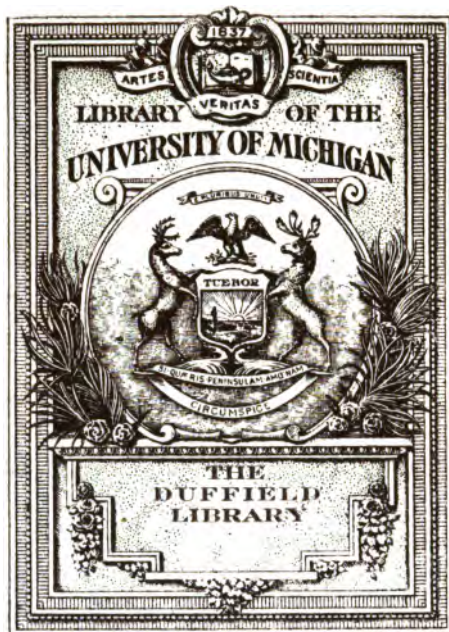
PART I. THE WALDENSES.—PART II. THE ALBIGENSES.—PART III. THE VAUDOIS.

WITH ILLUSTRATIVE NOTES,  
FROM MODERN  
HISTORIANS AND THEOLOGIANS.



NEW YORK:  
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THE GIFT OF  
THE TAPPAN PRESBY-  
TERIAN ASSOCIATION





111

# HISTORY

OF THE

## OLD WALDENSES

ANTERIOR TO THE REFORMATION.

By Jean Paul Perrin.

WITH ILLUSTRATIVE NOTES,  
FROM MODERN  
HISTORIANS AND THEOLOGIANs.



*George Duffield A.M.*

In tali nunquam lassat venatio sylva.  
A.D. 1884.

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TO  
WILLIAM JAY,  
BEDFORD, NEW YORK,  
PRESIDENT OF THE WESTCHESTER BIBLE SOCIETY:  
A WALDENSIAN HUGUENOT,  
WHO ESTEEMS IT  
BOTH A PRIVILEGE AND A DUTY  
TO GIVE HIS NAME AND HIS EFFORTS  
TO THE MAINTENANCE OF PROTESTANTISM.

---

DEAR SIR—

As "the goodly fellowship of the Prophets," and "the glorious company of the Apostles," both have passed away from the church militant to "the rest that remaineth to the people of God"—and as, according to our poet's characteristic definition—

"A Christian is the highest style of man."

I know not a more honourable privilege, than to be numbered, even in our comparatively pacific times and country, among the descendants of "the noble army of Martyrs," in the anterior ages of the suffering persecuted Churches, during that direful period when "all the world wondered after the Beast," to whom "the Dragon gave his power, and his seat, and great authority." Of that exemplary and numerous "Household of Faith," you are a member. You have your noble ancestry and their Christian kindred among the Huguenots, those Confessors and Martyrs who were expatriated by the revocation of the Edict of Nantes—and those proscribed Christians; "of whom the world was not worthy," require not any other terrestrial title to their enumeration in the catalogue of the "Two Witnesses."

The volume which I now present to you does not record the diabolical transactions of that long protracted hail storm and pestilence, during the prevalence of which, the *élite* of France, hundreds of thousands of the Lord's disciples, were tortured to death for his sake; and an equal multitude more either fled or were driven from their Gallic habitations into every other country where their gracious Master provided them a refuge;—but this History of the Waldenses, the Albigenses, and the Vaudois, comprises the narrative of the similar Papal atrocities by which those elder brethren of the Huguenots, the Christians of the Alpine valleys, were desolated and slaughtered.

In this connection, our national American annals, at the most interesting period of the early existence of our Federal Republic, furnish a remarkable and impressive commentary of the promise which was included in the mes-



sage of the man of God to Eli the high priest. "Now the Lord saith, ~~them~~ who honour me I will honour." In the history of South Carolina, Ramsay thus narrates:—"Three of the nine Presidents of the old Congress who conducted the United States through the revolutionary war, were descendants of French Protestant Refugees, who had migrated to America in consequence of the revocation of the edict of Nantes—HENRY LAURENS, of South Carolina,—JOHN JAY, of New York—and ELIAS BOUDINOT of New Jersey." Thus is most emphatically verified the unerring testimony of the Psalmist—"Blessed is the man that feareth the Lord, and that walketh in his ways. The children of thy servants, O my God, shall continue, and be established before thee—for the generation of the upright shall be blessed."

"The holy Church throughout all the world," and every *Waldensian* both in America and Europe who evangelically fraternizes with you in "the maintenance of Protestantism," exults in the certainty that the dawn of that long-anticipated and intensely desired morning will speedily appear; when "the angel shall come down from heaven, with great power, and the earth shall be lightened with his glory." Revelations xviii. 1—8. Then shall the angel cry "mightily with a strong voice, BABYLON THE GREAT IS FALLEN, IS FALLEN!"—and "in a moment, in the twinkling of an eye"—

The cross-capp'd towers, the gorgeous Vatican,  
The impious Mass-house, Babylon itself,  
"Yea, *all which it inherits* shall dissolve;  
And like that unsubstantial pageant faded,"  
The fitting mummary of Rome's fantastic shows,  
"Leave not a wreck behind."

That you will be on earth to join "the voice of the great multitude," who, on beholding that most sublime and joyous catastrophe, will resound "Alleluia! for the Lord God Omnipotent reigneth"—does not accord with my prophetic chronology; but that in the general assembly and church of the first-born who came out of great tribulation, and who washed their robes and made them white in the blood of the Lamb," we may hear of that glorious emancipation of "the whole world that lieth in wickedness," is the sincere prayer of

Your Fellow Soldier in the Faith;

and

Your servant for Jesus' sake,

THE EDITOR.

*New York, October 12, 1843.*

## INTRODUCTION.

WHEN the proposition was originally made to republish the authentic standard volume concerning the Waldenses, and the Albigenses, by Jean Paul Perrin, and the Vaudois, by Dr. Bray; it was not contemplated to change or enlarge it. But upon the perusal of his pages, it was perceived that additions, the result of later researches, could be supplied, which would both illustrate the narrative, and render it better adapted to the present exigencies of the Christian churches. Hence, it was determined to issue the work by Dr. Bray entire; and to select and condense from modern authors, and insert those facts and arguments which might add force to the testimony and demonstration to the truth; and to embody those extracts in an appendix to each of the separate parts of the history. The chief design in this respect has been this—to combine within the limits prescribed for the work, the largest quantum possible of the correlate information which every valuable author, who could be searched, can contribute to the development of the Christian character of the ever-living “Witnesses,” who during nearly twelve hundred years have been prophesying, “clothed in sackcloth;” but “standing before the God of the earth,” with unshaken firmness, and with changeless brilliancy; and who “overcame the Accuser of the brethren by the blood of the Lamb, and by the word of their testimony, for they loved not their lives to the death.”

Our great concern has been by the most sedulous exploration to obtain all the elucidations which could be discovered, and especially from the Waldensians themselves and their church records and other documents, of the prominent facts in the eventful annals of those Christians who, from the early ages of the church of God, have resided among the European Alps, and which constitute the most interesting portions of ancient ecclesiastical history.

In reviewing their social organization, two characters impress us with great interest—the antiquity of their origin, and the uniformity of their faith. Without controversy their churches can be traced in an uninterrupted succession during a thousand years; and that they existed in their evangelical doctrines, spiritual worship, fraternal communion, and abhorrence of antichristian superstitions, for nearly two centuries previous, is a fact attested even by their most infuriated persecutors. One of the remarkable circumstances of modern times is this—that although those followers of Jesus were shut up among the small and most inaccessible valleys of the highest mountains, almost “alike unknowing and unknown,” and not only accounted but persecuted as monsters in human appearance, whom all

potentates, secular and ecclesiastical, combined to reproach and destroy, yet their virtues could not be concealed, and their churches could not be exterminated.

This point is lucidly exhibited in a note by Mr. ALLPORT, appended to Davenant's Exposition of Paul's Epistle to the Colossians, chap. i. 9. The text contained this remark—"While we live here, we are as children who are not yet arrived at maturity; whence the Holy Scriptures excite all to a constant advance in every gift of divine grace—to the increase of faith, of hope, of love, and of knowledge. Nazianzen says, 'A Christian either advances or falls back; he cannot remain in the same state.' Bernard says, 'He is by no means good who does not wish to be better; and where you begin to be unwilling to become better, there you leave off to be good.'" To which reference to Bernard, Mr. ALLPORT subjoins, "This renowned Romanist, Bernard, enraged against the uncorrupted Christians of Cologne, who had settled there from among the persecuted Albigenses to the great annoyance of the Papists, when he described those followers of Arnold of Brescia, said, 'If you ask me of their faith, nothing can be more Christian. If you observe their conversation, nothing can be more blameless. The sincerity of their language they prove by the consistency of their deeds. In testimony of his faith, you may see a man of this order frequent the church, honor its elders, offer his gifts, confess his sin, and partake of the communion, and what can be more expressive of the Christian? In life and manners also, he circumvents no man, defrauds no man, and does violence to no man. His fasts are frequent, his bread is not that of idleness, and his labour procures him his support.' Such is the testimony of an opponent to the Protestants of Piedmont. The foregoing passage, if no other could be procured, would of itself alone be sufficient to crush the foul slanders which even at this day, continue to be discharged by the ignorant and malevolent against a most exemplary and brutally persecuted Christian community; but *calumny naturally follows persecution*."<sup>\*</sup>

In our own times, those descendants of the primitive Dissenters from Rome have become the subject of a theological controversy which combines some most important principles connected with the churches of Christ. They differ not in any essential characteristic from the genuine disciples of the Reformation in the sixteenth century, for "in faith, in hope, in charity," the Waldenses wherever scattered and the sincere Protestants are one. Their grand distinction is this—the *Waldensian Churches never belonged to Rome*. They never submitted to the Papal jurisdiction, and they never assented to its Christian pretensions—having ever denied their usurpations, and denounced their profession of the Gospel as undisguised hypocrisy.

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\* We add Bernard's own Latin, extracted from his Sermo LXV. super Cantic. :—"Si fidem interrogas, nihil Christianius; si conversationem, nihil irreprehensibilis; et quæ loquitur factis probat. Jam quod ad vitam et mores spectat, neminem concutit, neminem circumvenit, neminem supergreditur. Pallent insuper ore jejuniis; panem non comedit otiosus; operatur manibus, unde vitam sustenat. Ubi jam vulpes? Mulieres relictis viris, et item viri dimissis uxoribus, ad istos se conferunt. Clerici et sacerdotes, populis ecclesiisque relictis, intonsi et barbati, apud eos, inter textores et textrices, plebæ rumque inventi sunt." It is extraordinary that a canonized and worshipped Saint should have emitted such *edifying* contradictions.

DR. BRAY, in the general preface to his volume, thus introduces "The History of the Old Waldenses and Albigenses, those two glorious Witnesses to the truth of Christianity, in opposition to the Antichristianism of Rome:"—

"This celebrated history by Jean Paul Perrin, of Lyons, was written in French, and soon after was translated into our language; but on account of the obsolete improprieties of the phrases, is here rendered anew. Before I resolved upon publishing it, I consulted Dr. Allix, both because he was the best judge, and because in his own volume he had frequently quoted it as an excellent narrative of undoubted authority. Indeed I find it very often cited by the learned men who discuss the subject of those primitive Christians, with great attestations to its worth, as giving a complete account of the horrible devastations and wars which were raised and carried on by the Popes, under the solemnity of Croisades, besides the more private ways of murdering by the merciless Inquisitors, against those preservers of the primitive Christianity, and forerunners of the blessed Reformation, the old Waldenses and Albigenses, to the extermination, as far as divine Providence would permit, both of the princes and people, who then were the only maintainers of the true religion.

"In that part of the history concerning the Albigenses, we have that Latin Antichristian tyranny most remarkably exemplified, in the total ruin and extermination, both of several princes and of their people, merely for endeavouring to conserve primitive Christianity in its native purity, and for opposing the Papal despotism and innovations. Herein are also represented the wars, massacres, and persecutions carried on by the instigation of the Popes and the Romish priesthood, to the distress of every subject in the dominions of those princes who either formerly were, or still are vassals to the Romish hierarchy. In this history of the Albigenses are given various instances of the wicked principles which tended to maintain the Papal usurpations over secular princes; and of the manner in which they were enforced upon the Earls of Thoulouse, Beziers, Foix, and Comminges, and even on the King of Arragon. The barbarous manner in which those Papal encroachments and usurpations were put in practice, will amaze the reader at the insults and violence of those prime ministers of Satan, Pope Innocent III., and Pope Innocent IV., towards those worthy and honest sovereign rulers; at the perusal of which, all persons who are not of the persecuting party, would almost shed tears, while their hearts must needs bleed.

"This history, including both that of the Waldenses and Albigenses is very proper to precede the more extended accounts of the miserable havoc and bloody butcheries made in the succeeding centuries, in the several parts of Christendom, of the true members of Christ's church, wherever dispersed, or however distressed, over the face of the whole earth; and indeed the following history does admirably relate their story as so distressed and so dispersed.

"THEIR DISTRESSES.—As Antichristianism gradually prevailed in the western church, those eminent and glorious "Two Witnesses" retired by degrees more and more into the coverts of the wilderness, or the almost inaccessible places of the Alps, and the mountainous parts of France; and as was predicted of them, Revelation xii. 14, there for some time they remained hidden. But Antichrist having at last attained the height of his

power, and the European princes for fear of his wrath, having become so obsequious to him, that they yielded themselves up to the base office of being merely executioners of the Christians whom he condemned—"that Man of Sin, the Son of Perdition"—being no longer able to tolerate those burning and shining lights, poured forth his own rage, and let loose their fury upon "the called, and chosen, and faithful," as is amply detailed in the ensuing history.

"THEIR DISPERSIONS.—As their distresses are there declared, so are their dispersions far and wide, throughout most parts of the kingdoms of Europe, when the persecutions of them were so fiery, that the sheep were scattered from the fold abroad into the world. It pleased the divine Providence, to deal with those confessors and martyrs who, emphatically and *κατα εφοχην*, were the Lord's witnesses to his truth, as with the primitive "church which was at Jerusalem, Acts viii. 1, who were all scattered abroad," and who being sorely persecuted in one city, fled into another; and thus by their dispersion spread the light of the Gospel throughout the *Οικουμενη* or *Orbis Romanus*, as in the civil law the Roman empire was called, thereby arrogating the whole world as their dominion, as the modern pontifex maximus copying their arrogance, and adding to it his blasphemy, has done. In like manner the Christians inhabiting the valleys of the Alps, having been coerced to forsake their abodes, by the horrid desolations of themselves and their habitations, dispersed themselves, and carried with them the truths of the Gospel far and wide into Bohemia, England, France, Germany, Poland, Spain, and the adjoining countries to them on the western side of the Alps, and into Calabria and Italy, to the east. There the precious seed of the Word for some ages lay buried, and harrowed as it were under clods, till the happy dawn of the Reformation, since which time it has appeared above ground, and notwithstanding many rough winters, God be praised! it has borne a plentiful harvest of truth and righteousness. All this does our excellent historian, Perrin, unfold in his work, which relates the Papal oppression of the injured potentates, and the sore distresses of the martyred people—proving that the injuries of both proceeded from the same Antichristian power.

"That much esteemed author has also preserved for us authentic memorials concerning the doctrines, worship, and discipline of the Waldenses and Albigenses, and the noble testimony given by them against the Roman Antichrist, with practical discourses which depict the purity of their manners.

"In reference to their DOCTRINE, we have the ancient confessions of their faith, their Catechism for the instruction of their youth, and their genuine Exposition of the Ten Commandments, the Lord's Prayer, the Sacraments, and the Apostle's Creed.

"As to their DISCIPLINE, besides the very ancient confession of their sins which was used among them, and their general mode of visiting the sick, there are many other articles that exhibit their singular care and watchfulness in the regulation of their life and manners.

"Concerning their WORSHIP, there is that noble testimony of those glorious confessors against the "Man of Sin," as exhibited in their treatise concerning Antichrist, Purgatory, Invocation of Saints, and the Sacraments.

"As to their practical discourses, their mortification to the world and their Christian simplicity of character really shine in their Treatise of Tribulation, and in their Noble Lesson.

"Upon the perusal of which antiquated documents, it imparts a singular pleasure to all whose eyes are not dazzled with the meretricious paint and attire of the Roman Harlot Mother, to see the "Woman in the Wilderness" so unspotted in her garb, even from the tenth to the sixteenth century, during all the most corrupt ages of the church; and then at the Reformation, to appear so Christian, as on her part to need little or no amendment and purification.

"The Roman Inquisitors were enraged at the Waldenses for their constancy and perseverance in such sanctity of faith and practice. Therefore, although the mere force of truth did sometimes extort from them the most honourable testimonies on their behalf, yet generally those Inquisitors published the most wicked lies which they could invent against them; and in their criminal processes they also villanously inserted, in their answers and confessions, crimes of which those guileless Christians never dreamed.

"Reinerius contra Waldenses, Cap. IV., however, thus avers:—'All other sects render themselves horrible by reason of their blasphemies against God, but the Waldenses have a great appearance of piety, inasmuch as they live justly before men, and believe aright concerning God in all things, and hold all the articles of the Creed; but there is one thing against them—they *decry the Roman priesthood, and thereby they easily gain credit among the people.*'

"Hence, next to the grace of God, I know nothing of greater efficacy and use than the martyrology, the history of confessors and martyrs, to awaken and save us; and to prepare us to endure with Christian patience, and with a spirit of martyrdom, the worst that may come upon us."

A brief delineation of the more remarkable traits of character which the Christians of the Alpine valleys, on the confines of France and Italy, ever have exhibited, will form an appropriate introductory notice to the ensuing histories. The graphical description of Mr. Sims, Minister of the Episcopal Church, in England, has therefore been selected. He twice visited Piedmont expressly to become acquainted with those secluded disciples of Immanuel, and the eventful scenes through which they have passed. To his concise sketch of those valleys and of their inhabitants, he appended this impressive memorial: "The train of feelings induced by the recollections of the Waldenses, when treading those sequestered spots where they reside, were such as neither the treasures of art, nor the stupendous views of nature, unfolded in the Cantons of Switzerland, had possessed, in an equal degree, the magic to impart."\* The evidence and narrative of Mr. Sims illustrate and give additional value to the subsequent volume.

"There is a small and comparatively obscure district at the extremity of the plain of Piedmont, immediately under the Alps, which, though seldom visited, has been the seat of transactions which have often excited the attention and the sympathy of the principal European states. This district, which is distinguished for much of that grand scenery which characterizes

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\* This is precisely the sentiment also of the Roman Orator—"Movemur," wrote Tully, "nescio quo pacto, locis ipsis, in quibus eorum, quos diligimus aut admiramur, adsunt vestigia. Me quidem ipsæ illæ nostræ Athenæ non tam operibus magnificis, exquisitisque antiquorum artibus delectant, quam recordatione summorum virorum, ubi quisque habitare, ubi sedere, ubi disputare solitus sit; studioseque eorum etiam sepulchra contemplan."—*Cicero de Legib., Lib. II. Cap. 2.*

Alpine regions, but which is chiefly interesting when viewed in connection with Christian antiquities, comprises the valleys of Luzerne, Perosa and San Martino, in the province of Pinerolo, in Sardinia.

"Those valleys are inhabited by a peaceable, industrious, and inoffensive race of men, whose adherence to the pure truths of the Christian religion has been, and still continues to be, very conspicuous and exemplary. The inhabitants called Waldenses, or Valdenses, in Italian Valdesi, and in French Vaudois, from the valleys which they inhabit, are the descendants of Christians whose heroic achievements have awakened the astonishment of all acquainted with their history, while their piety and constancy justly entitle the sufferers to a place in 'the noble army of martyrs.' The present population occupy fifteen villages or parishes, and amount to about twenty thousand persons.

"That a people whose history is so replete with the marvellous and the pathetic, and whose adherence to a primitive faith has been for a series of ages so firm and so uniform, should have excited a more than ordinary degree of attention and respect, cannot be deemed surprising; since, viewed in connection with religion, their soil must be regarded as almost sacred—their rocks and caves, their temples and their dwellings, are beheld with unusual emotions, and the children of such suffering ancestors are peculiarly entitled to our esteem. On such spots, however delightful the scenery, the principal charm consists in the association of all that presents itself to the eye with historical recollections, consecrated, as the territory has been, in an almost unparalleled degree, by the patience of the confessor, and the agony of the martyr.

"The modern Waldenses, who are lineal descendants of ancient worthies, inheriting both their names and their possessions, when compared with most other Christians, must be considered a very exemplary race of men. Those crimes which require the punishment of the magistrate, are of very rare occurrence. A stranger may pass through the country, by day or night, unmolested; and to this day, as above two centuries ago, when De Vignaux wrote his 'Memoires,' the Vaudois are preferred to others as domestics by the Romanists—an honorable, but a *dangerous preference*! From other virtues conspicuous among the Vaudois, their INDUSTRY, HUMANITY, and LOYALTY, more particularly may be specified.

"Their poverty and privations are extreme. The hardships which they endure in procuring the necessary food for their families are such as we rarely witness. Compelled to raise walls even to prevent the scanty portions of soil on the sides of the mountains from being washed down by heavy rains—obliged to break up that soil by manual labour, for cattle cannot be used to plough it—forced, women as well as men, on account of the steepness of the ground, to carry hay, grain, and their other products, on their backs to great distances, and thus to undertake the drudgery assigned to cattle in this country, and after such excessive labour obtaining, in general, only rye, buckwheat, chestnuts, and potatoes, for their subsistence—it is obvious that their patient industry is almost unequalled.

"The HUMANITY which they have displayed is remarkable. So circumstanced as to be always in need of the sympathy of others, they have learned that beneficial lesson which is usually acquired in the school of affliction—

compassion for others when in misery. If any one is ill, there is even a sort of competition among the neighbours who shall pay the first and greatest attentions; and to relieve sudden accidents and distress of the poor, a sermon is preached and a collection made. One illustrious instance of their humanity should not pass unnoticed. When the Austrians and Russians under Suwarrow compelled the French army to retreat, three hundred French wounded soldiers received all the assistance, medical and otherwise, that could be given; and at the request of their minister Rostaing, the inhabitants of Bobi carried those miserable wounded sufferers on their shoulders over the mountains into the French territory. Their most painful task was the act of pure Christian humanity, and not the result of political feelings; yet but for the interposition of Prince Bagrathion, it would have exposed them and their property to considerable danger. The Austrians could not withhold their admiration, and the French General, Suchet, published an order for the very purpose of acknowledging such a singular instance of benevolence.

"Still more recently they have exemplified the same humane feelings on an occasion which Count Waldbourg Truchsess, the Prussian Ambassador at Turin, thus describes in a letter, dated Turin, August 18, 1825:—"The Vaudois spontaneously made a collection among themselves in favour of the Hollanders who suffered by the recent inundations. The collection amounts to more than three thousand francs, which have been sent to Holland, where their donation has excited the most lively gratitude. It is exceedingly affecting to inspect the subscription-list of the various districts. Not one individual was excluded. Each contributed according to his ability. Even the children contributed their saved sou. Benevolence always is one of the noblest qualities. The rich cannot make a better use of their wealth; but it is sublime when it is exercised by him who divides his last morsel of bread, to support his wretched brethren.\*"

"The *LOYALTY* of the Waldenses likewise presents a model worthy of general imitation, to all other people; and the more so, as their religious principles widely differ from those of the state.

"In 1694, Victor Amadeus granted an edict in favour of the Vaudois, which was highly honourable to them. He said to their deputies—"You have but one God and but one prince to obey. Serve God and your prince conscientiously. Others were the cause of your misery. But if you perform your duty, I will do mine, and as long as I have a bit of bread you shall partake of it.†"

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\* Les Vaudois ont fait de leur propre mouvement, une collecte entre eux en faveur des Hollandais, qui ont souffert par les dernières inondations. Cette collecte a rapporté plus de 3000 F., et a été envoyée en Hollande, où elle a excité la plus vive reconnaissance. Il est effectivement touchant de voir la liste de souscription des diverses communes. Aucun individu ne s'en est exclu, chacun a donné selon ses facultés; même les enfans y ont contribué leurs sous d'épargne. La bienfaisance est toujours une des plus belles qualités et dignes d'éloge. L'homme riche ne sauroit faire un meilleur usage de son bien; mais elle est sublime, quand elle est exercée par celui, qui partage son dernier morceau de pain, pour soulager ses frères malheureux."

† "Vous n'avez qu'un Dieu et qu'un prince à servir. Servez Dieu et votre prince en toute conscience. D'autres ont été la cause de vos malheurs; mais si vous faites votre



"When the army of Louis XIV. invaded Sardinia, Victor Amadeus was advised to rely upon the loyalty of the Waldenses, and take refuge in Rora. He remained concealed in security for two weeks in the house of a Vaudois peasant named Durand, until Prince Eugene recaptured Turin.

"The late king of Sardinia gave this testimony of the modern Vaudois, in 1821, to Count Crotti, Governor of Pignerol:—"I know that I am beloved by the Vaudois. I carried on war in their valleys. I lived among them for some time with delight. Their attachment to me I know. Now I am gratified to learn from you, that in these recent circumstances, they have not falsified their character.\*"

"Thus the Vaudois have maintained willing submission to their temporal sovereign in secular affairs, while they disavowed the arbitrary impositions of the Roman Pontiff in matters of religion. Even in the earlier ages, they asserted in that wise distinction, those standard principles which are now acknowledged to be of pre-eminent value and authority in all enlightened countries—the exercise of supremacy on the part of rulers, with religious toleration; and of subordination on the part of citizens, without a surrender of the rights of conscience."

Hence the ensuing valuable history will be very acceptable to all American citizens, and especially to every Christian, because, from its authentic documents, it is manifest, that during the protracted continuance of the feudal tyranny and the ecclesiastical despotism throughout the ten kingdoms of the Roman empire, the Christians who resided in the valleys of Piedmont and their immediate vicinity, were the only people who either understood or enjoyed the privileges of civil and religious freedom. In truth, the Waldenses, when divine Providence did not mysteriously permit their ruthless persecutors to ravage their country, exemplified, as the cardinal principles of their social organization in civic affairs, the self-evident truths upon which the primitive Puritans of New England established their commonwealth, and which, in the Declaration of the Fourth day of July, 1776, became the chief corner-stone of the American Federal Republic.

devoir je ferais le mien, et aussi long tems que j'aurai un morceau de pain, vous en aurez votre part."

\* Je sais que je suis aimé des Vaudois. J'ai fait la guerre dans ces vallées. J'ai demeuré quelque tems au milieu d'eux avec plaisir. Leur attachement m'étoit connu. Maintenant je suis charmé d'apprendre par vous, que dans ces dernières circonstances, ils n'ayent point démenti leur caractère." Nevertheless, against those most exemplary and inoffensive Christians, the present king of Sardinia, at the instigation of the Jesuits, has lately commenced another deadly persecution, which already has again been counteracted by the interposition of their brethren of the various Reformed Churches in Europe.

TO THE  
DUKE FRANCIS DE BONNE,

MARESCHAL AND CONSTABLE OF FRANCE.

MY LORD:

This History of right belongs to you; because the most populous Churches of the Waldenses are within the limits of your government, and because they never had respite to breathe with liberty, until about forty years ago, you defended them against the outrages of their enemies. God out of his goodness comforted them; and they found safe-guard in your protection, and both within and without the realm, your name was to them a strong bulwark.

Moreover the records of the sufferings which in ages past their forefathers experienced, were the holy bounty which you obtained at the capture of Ambrun; when you reduced that city to obedience. The Archbishops of that city, during four hundred years, carefully kept secret the inquisitorial processes and proceedings against the Churches of the Waldenses, the discovery of which has brought upon their persecutors perpetual shame and disgrace. On the contrary, the piety and discretion of your followers is eternized; who obtained and preserved the bag which contained the narrative of those processes; notwithstanding the fire which the enemies of the truth had kindled by the Archbishop's command, on purpose to destroy those records, and to hinder your faithful servant from entering the tower in which they were kept.

Mr. Vulcon, counsellor in the parliament at Grenoble, recovered those documents and delivered them into our hands; having been satisfied for his portion of the spoil

with that bag alone, the contents of which indict the Devil himself with all his adherents, and which were providentially preserved for the good and edification of the Church of God.

Having therefore resolved to publish this history under the credit and sanction of your name, I have only restored it to its first and rightful owner; and now return it to its preserver, dedicating the entire structure to him, who has furnished all its most solid materials; and who himself has both known and seen more of the Waldenses, than I have described concerning them. Herein especially doth the hand of God appear, when persons of the same name and in the same province have differed so much in their designs—for Arroas de Bonne, above three hundred years ago, persecuted in Dauphiny, the ancestors of those Christians whom you have restored. Thus doth the eternal God know how and when, as he pleases, to produce from one and the same stem the light of his mercy, whence nothing but darkness before sprung. Many happy years may you continue in the same purpose and intention of loving and preserving the Churches for which Christ died; and may you also devote the residue of your days to his glory, and the edification of the flocks for which he hath shed his precious blood! On this depends all your glory; and thence that your comfort may proceed, I heartily pray with the same affection, which binds me ever to be,

Your very humble Servant,

JOHN PAUL PERRIN.

*Nyons in Dauphiny,*  
January 1, 1618.

## P R E F A C E.

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THE Church of God is of more value, even as it subsists in this world, than the world itself. It is the purchase of our Lord *Jesus Christ*. He was crucified for it; and there is no good thing without it worthy of our esteem. But as our Redeemer invites us to enter and dwell therein for our salvation, so Satan endeavours to make men wander out of it to their damnation. He blindfolds them, that they may take that for the Church, which only bears the name of it; and keeping them in error, and seducing them by worldly splendor, makes them to despise the true Church, principally, because it is subject to persecution in the world, wherein those who do not honour the master cannot love the servants. Insomuch, that acknowledging no other Church besides that which hath for many ages triumphed in the blood of the martyrs whom it hath slain, they importunately demand, in what then was the Catholic Church if that be not it, which hath so long and so peaceably enjoyed the title thereof? Where was it concealed, say they, during the ages past? and so they press us at least to show them some one in the whole course of so many years, who believed that which in our time hath been extolled under the name of the Reformation.

This History of the Christians, called *Albigenses* and *Waldenses*, will give satisfaction in this matter to those who read it without prejudice; for therein it appears, that for several hundred years past, there have been, especially in *Europe*, a great number of persons, in divers

kingdoms and countries, who have professed a religion altogether conformable to the word of God, and the doctrine which hath been received in the reformed Churches ; having mourned under the darkness of *Antichrist*, where they shined like precious stones in a dunghill, and were fragrant, like the rose among thorns. In the world, they were accounted as vagabonds ; but God did there look upon them as his children. He gave them eyes to see, ears to hear, and a heart to understand his truth. And as he hath made way for his judgments, in giving up to a spirit of delusion those who had rejected his word ; so also hath he made way for his mercy, in withdrawing the residue from the temples polluted with idolatry, causing the sacred and internal ministry of his Holy Spirit to operate in them, by making them temples to himself, and preserving them from the infection of the external ministry polluted with a multitude of human inventions.

The writings of the *Waldenses* and *Albigenses*, which have been almost miraculously preserved even unto this present time, and which are contained in this history, show the purity of their religion, and justify them against the imputations of their enemies. By them it will appear, that their faith was founded upon the Apostles' creed, retaining that also of *Athanasius*. For the rule of their obedience they had the law of the Lord, and for the substance of their devotions, the Lord's prayer. They kept the Sacraments instituted by our Lord Jesus Christ, in the same purity wherein he at first did institute them. Moreover, they lived under a good and holy discipline, ordering their manners according to the same word which was the rule of their faith. Yet we shall make it appear, that notwithstanding all those things, without which no one can be a true Christian, they have been cruelly condemned to death, banished, pillaged, burned, anathematized, and persecuted with force of arms.

Without reason then is it demanded, *where the Church*

*was in the ages past?* For it appears that they, whom the popes in almost countless numbers have put to death for righteousness' sake, were the Church; although they were contrary to the Church of Rome, and to the popes, in that alone wherein they were contrary to the Church of God.

Now seeing the first point of the truth which those faithful martyrs have maintained, is concerning God, who is without beginning and without end, and without whose command there is nothing true, nor available; it follows, that human inventions must of necessity give place when God speaketh, truth being more ancient than lies. It must also be acknowledged, that in the former ages, those who believed in one God, through Jesus Christ, have been the true members of the Church, making the Catholic Church, in whatsoever part of the earth they were placed; and it appears from the doctrine and confession of the faithful, whereof much is spoken in this History, that they put their Trust in the living God alone; and expected life and salvation from no other than the Son of God.

If then for those things they have been slaughtered, what injury is done to those, who render themselves guilty of the same sins, by the bloody desires which they have to banish such out of the world, whose mouths they cannot stop with reason—if seeming to seek the Church in ages past, they are sent to the faithful, whom such as themselves have put to death? Ought they not rather to thank God with us, that the endeavours of Satan have been in vain, since the Church of God, in the person of his servants, remains victorious by Faith, and triumphant by Martyrdom? The notion of which we have not formed in this History according to the cruelty of the punishments, but according to the righteousness and goodness of the cause.

It will contribute much to the glory of God, to follow this blood by the track, collecting together the certain

proofs of the faith and constancy of thousands of witnesses, who have sealed the truth with the loss of their lives; for there is no kingdom, state, principality, nor almost city, town, or village in *Europe*, wherein this innocent blood of Christians hath not been shed.

In this holy occupation we need not doubt the venom of wicked tongues, the scoffs of Atheists, nor the ridicule of profane persons. A stomach ill-affected, loveth nothing but what is contrary to it; neither can the wicked esteem anything, but what is agreeable to their vicious palate. If the malicious torrents of the impious could have put a stop to the service which we owe to God and his Churches, we should have given over this history before we had written three lines of it, for it hath been cavilled at by many upon the first notice of it. What then will they not now do, when they shall see that which they thought we could never truly maintain? Doubtless, passion will extort from malicious souls the suggestions of the malignant; in counterchange for which I will pray to the Lord for those that revile us, that he would make them to know his truth; and that he would grant unto us whom he hath lodged in his house, after the conflicts of this life, the portion which he hath reserved for us in Heaven, through his well-beloved Son our Lord Jesus Christ; to whom be praise, honour, glory and power, for ever and ever. *Amen.*

JOHN PAUL PERRIN.

# CATALOGUE

## OF THE

### AUTHORS CITED IN THIS HISTORY.

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#### ADVERSARIES OF THE WALDENSES.

Albert de Capitanais, Archdeacon of Cremona, in his History of the Waldenses.—Alphonsus de Castro.—Baronius, in his Annals.—Bellarmin.—Bernard.—Bernard de Girard, of Haillan.—Bodin.—Carpentras, in his Boniour.—Claudius Rubis, History of Lyons.—Claudius Seissel.—Council of Lateran.—Council of Lyons.—Council of Montpellier.—Council of Thoulouse.—Council of Vaur.—Council of Vienna.—Constitutions of Frederick Barbarossa Emperor.—Constitutions of King Roger.—Constitutions of Pope Alexander III.—Constitutions of Pope Alexander IV.—Constitutions of Pope Clement IV.—Constitutions of Pope Gregory IX.—Constitutions of Pope Honorius.—Constitutions of Pope Innocent III.—Dubravius.—Eccius.—Gaspard Bruschi.—Godofredus Monachus.—Gualters, a Jesuit Monk.—Guicciardin.—Guido de Perpignan.—History of Languedoc.—Hosius.—Jaques de Riberia.—John Bale.—John le Maire.—Krantzius.—Letters of Pope John XXII.—Lindanus.—Louis XII. of France.—Martyrology.—Matthew Paris.—Memorials of Rostain, Archbishop of Ambrun.—Noguières.—Paul Languis.—Paulus Æmylius.—Peres Library.—Peter, Monk of Sernay.—Platina.—Reinerius.—Sea of Histories.—Sigonius.—Simon DeVoion.—Statutes of Louis IX. of France.—Statutes of Remond, last Earl of Thoulouse.—Thuanus, or Du Thou.—Treasury of the Histories of France.—Uvier, John.—Vesembecius.—Walden, Thomas.

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#### PROFESSORS OF THE REFORMATION.

Aldegonde.—Beza.—Bullinger.—Camerarius, Joachim.—Camerarius, Louis.—Catalogue of the Witnesses of the Truth.—Chassagnon.—Constans upon the Revelation.—History of the Churches of France.—History of the Martyrs of our Times.—History of the State of the Church.—Holagary, in his history of Foix.—Inventory of Serres.—Lavater.—Luther.—Memorial of George Morel.—Memorial of Hannibal Olivier.—Memorial of Vignaux.—Papoliniere.—Review of the Council of Trent.—Rudiger Esrom.—Vignier, in his Historical Library.—Viret.



# ARGUMENT.

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## BOOK I.

### ORIGIN OF THE WALDENSES, AND THE TESTIMONY GIVEN OF THEIR FAITH AND PROBITY.

- I. God at all times hath raised up labourers for the Assemblies of his Saints. The period when Waldo began to teach, and his success. Who Waldo was, and those Christians who were called Waldenses.—II. The dispersion of Waldo and his disciples was the means which God made use of to spread the doctrine of Waldo almost throughout all Europe.—III. The names which their adversaries applied to the Waldenses, and the crimes of which their enemies maliciously accused them.—IV. The Waldenses are cleared from obloquy by their own writings.—V. Testimony given to the Piety, Probity, and Learning of the Waldenses, by their adversaries.—VI. Testimony concerning the Waldenses by distinguished professors of the Reformed Churches.—VII. Peter Waldo and the Waldenses left Books behind them, which manifest their faith and characters.—VIII. The enemies of the Waldenses acknowledge that their doctrine was agreeable to the religious creed and principles of the Reformation.—IX. Enumeration of the Pastors of the Churches who instructed the Waldenses, during several hundred years, as far as they have come to our knowledge.—X. The Pastors of the Waldensian Churches; their vocation, and the zeal and fidelity with which they fulfilled their charge.—XI. Epistle of pastor Bartholomew Tertian to the Waldensian Churches of Pragela.—XII. Confessions of the faith of the Waldenses.—XIII. The Athanasian Creed in the ancient vernacular Waldensian language.
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## BOOK II.

### HISTORY OF THE WALDENSES; AND OF THEIR VARIOUS DISPERSIONS.

- I. The adversaries of the Waldenses; the methods, and the time of their persecutions.—II. The Inquisition; and its Inventors. The Subtlety and Cruelty by which the Waldenses thereby were tormented.—III. The Persecutions of the Waldensian Churches in Dauphiny.—IV. The sufferings of the Waldensian Churches in Piedmont.—V. The last Persecutions with which the Waldensian Christians were afflicted who dwelt in the valleys of Maties and Meane, and the Marquisate of Saluces.—VI. The Persecutions of the Waldenses who occupied the New Lands.—VII. The Waldenses of Calabria.—VIII. The Waldenses in Provence.—IX. The Waldenses in Bohemia.—X. The Waldenses in Austria.—XI. The Waldenses in Germany.—XII. The Waldenses in England, with their persecutions.—XIII. The Waldenses in Flanders.—XIV. The Waldenses in Poland.—XV. Persecution of the Waldenses at Paris.—XVI. The Waldenses in Italy, and their anguish.—XVII. The persecutions of the Waldenses, who were scattered abroad at Constantinople, and Philadelphia; and throughout Bulgaria, Croatia, Dalmatia, Diagonicia, Greece, Livonia, Sarmatia, and Sclavonia.—XVIII. The Waldenses in Spain, and their Persecutions.—XIX. Conclusion of the History of the Waldenses.
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## BOOK III.

### HISTORICAL NOTES AND ILLUSTRATIONS.

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# HISTORY

## OF THE

# WALDENSES.

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### BOOK I.

ORIGIN OF THE WALDENSES, AND THE TESTIMONY GIVEN OF THEIR FAITH  
AND PROBITY.

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### CHAPTER I.

God at all times hath raised up labourers for the Assemblies of his Saints. The Period when Waldo began to teach, and his success. Who Waldo was; and those Christians who were called Waldenses.

God hath never left himself without witness; but from time to time he raises up instruments to publish his grace, enriching them with gifts necessary for the edification of his Church, giving them his Spirit for their guide, and his truth for their rule; whereby they may distinguish the Church begun in Abel, from that which commenced in Cain. He also teaches them to define the Church by faith, and faith by the Holy Scripture. In the midst of the most grievous persecution, he strengthens them, making them to know that the Cross is profitable, even when the faithful by means thereof exchange earth for heaven; for the children of God are not left, when massacred or burned by an unrighteous judgment, since "in the blood of the Martyrs we find the seed of the Church."

That which may be observed in all ages hath been more particularly remarkable among the Christians called Waldenses, who were raised up at a time when Satan kept men in ignorance; for he had involved the greatest part of those who called themselves Christians in the grand sin of the earth, IDOLATRY; for kings and princes employed their authority for its establishment, Revelations xvii: 12, 13, 17; and put to death all those who would not become Idolaters.

About the year of our Lord 1160, it was made a capital crime for any

person not to acknowledge, after the words of consecration were pronounced by the priest, that the body of our Lord Jesus Christ was actually present in the "Host," or Mass-wafer, under the accident of bread, with its roundness and whiteness—even *that very same body*, as large as it was when it hung upon the cross; the bread vanishing, and being *transubstantiated* into the actual flesh of Christ. Moreover, the worship of the "Host" was enjoined; and in honour to it, they adorned the streets through which it was carried in procession with flowers and hangings of tapestry; and they fell on their knees before it, adoring and calling it their God. The superstitious devotees smote their breast at the sight of it, and kept it in a *Pix* in order to worship it, as is the uniform and universal practice among the Papists even at this day.<sup>1</sup>

That doctrine was unknown to the Apostles, who never made mention of such a mystery; and was also unheard of by the primitive Churches, who never taught that an expiatory sacrifice was now to be made for the living and the dead. Hence, many Christians abhorred it, and chose rather to suffer temporal death, by resisting such idolatry, than by complying therewith, to live and die in danger of hell.

Peter Waldo, a citizen of Lyons, appeared most courageous in opposition to that unholy invention. He also attacked several other corruptions which had been adopted by the Roman priesthood, for he asserted that—

The papists had forsaken the faith of Jesus Christ—

The Church of Rome is the Babylonish harlot, and like the barren fig-tree which the Lord formerly cursed—

The Pope is not to be obeyed, forasmuch as he is not head of the Church—

Monkery is an abominable thing—

Vows are the character and mark of the great beast—

Purgatory, masses, dedications of temples, worship of Saints, and commemoration of the dead, are only the inventions of devils, and engines of avarice.<sup>2</sup>

Waldo was heard with more attention, because he was greatly esteemed for his learning and piety, and great bounty towards the poor; not only nourishing their bodies with his material food, but their souls with the Spiritual bread: and exhorting them principally to seek Jesus Christ, the true bread of their souls.<sup>3</sup>

Historians record, that Waldo took up the resolution to lead a blameless life resembling as near as possible that of the Apostles, in consequence of a sudden and dreadful accident. Being one day in company with some of his friends after supper, while they were in conversation, one of the party instantaneously fell down dead, which frightened all who were present. Waldo was most sensibly affected; and by that example of divine justice he was excited to an extraordinary amendment. Spending his time in reading the holy Scriptures, therein seeking his salvation; and at the same time he continually instructed the poor who flocked to him to partake of his Alms.<sup>4</sup>

<sup>1</sup> The word "*Host*" is derived from the Latin "*Hostia*," a sacrifice for a military or naval victory. The term "*Pix*" is used for a box in which also is kept the idol crucifix!

<sup>2</sup> Guido de Pignagnan, Flower of Chronicles.

<sup>3</sup> Sea of Histories, 203. Claudius Rubis, History of the city of Lyons, p. 269.

<sup>4</sup> Louis Camerarius; History of the Orthodox Brethren of Bohemia p. 7. Guido de Pignagnan, Flower of Chronicles.

The Archbishop of Lyons, John de Belse Mayons, having been informed that Waldo made profession of teaching the people, and that he boldly condemned the vices, luxury, and arrogance, of the popes and their clergy, inhibited him from teaching any more. The prelate declared, that Waldo was only a layman, and exceeded the bounds of his condition; and therefore that he should restrict himself within his prohibition, under pain of excommunication and of being proceeded against as a heretic.<sup>5</sup>

Waldo replied, that he could not be silent in a matter of so great importance as was the salvation of men; and that he would rather obey God who enjoined to speak, than man who commanded him to be silent.

Upon that reply, the Archbishop endeavoured to have him apprehended; but Waldo lived concealed at Lyons, under the protection of his friends, for the space of three years.

Pope Alexander III. having heard that in Lyons several persons openly called in question his sovereign authority over the whole Church, and fearing lest that beginning of rebellion should farther strike at his supreme dignity, anathematized Waldo and all his adherents, and commanded the Archbishop to proceed against them by ecclesiastical censure, even to utter extirpation.

Claudius Rubis saith that Waldo and his disciples were entirely driven from Lyons; and Albert de Capitaneis asserts, that they could not be extirpated. We learn nothing more of this first persecution, except only that those who escaped from Lyons followed him, and afterwards dispersed themselves in divers companies and places.<sup>6</sup>

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## CHAPTER II.

The dispersion of Waldo and his disciples was the means which God made use of to spread the doctrine of Waldo almost throughout all Europe.

ALBERT DE CAPITANEIS saith, that Waldo retired into Dauphiny, after his departure from Lyons, and Claudius Rubis asserts that he dwelt in the mountains of that province; where he could meet with illiterate persons capable of receiving the impressions of his faith. It is certain, that the churches of the Waldenses, which have stood longest, and of which there is still a greater number than in any other part of Europe, are those in Dauphiny, and the neighbouring churches of Piedmont and Provence, which are descended from them.<sup>1</sup>

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<sup>5</sup> Catalogue of the Witnesses of the Truth, page 535.—Simon de Voion.—Names of Doctors of the Church.

<sup>6</sup> Claudius Rubis, History, page 269.—Albert de Capitaneis, Original of the Vaudois.

<sup>1</sup> From the inadvertency of divers Protestant writers, and even of Perrin, as well as from the malice of the Romanists and their Inquisitors, the churches of Milan and the subalpine Waldenses are derived from Peter Waldo, as if it were he that first founded them. The contrary of late has most clearly been demonstrated by Allix, in his History of the Ancient Churches of Piedmont, and also in his History of the Albigenses. Allix proves, that the Waldenses separated themselves from the Papacy long before Waldo of Lyons; and that the name of Waldenses or Vaudois was given them from the place of their abode, which the inhabitants called "Les valles de Lucerne et Angrogne," the valleys of Lucerne and Angrogne; whence came the Latin name Vallenses, which afterwards was changed to Valdenses, when the fallacious design was laid to make the world believe that Waldo was their first founder. Excepting this mistake, John Paul Perria of

Vignier saith that Waldo retired into Picardy, where in a little time he made such progress, that many persons adhered to his doctrine, for which speedily after they suffered great persecutions. Dubravius says, "Philip Augustus, King of France, pushed on by the Romish ecclesiastics, took up arms against the Waldenses of Piedmont, razed three hundred houses of the gentlemen who followed their party, and destroyed some walled towns. He also pursued them into Flanders whither they had fled, and caused a great number of them to be burned."<sup>2</sup>

That persecution was followed by several in Germany, where quickly after they were grievously afflicted, especially in Alsace, and along the Rhine, by the prelates of Mayence and Strasburg. They caused thirty-five citizens of Mayence to be burned at one fire in the city of Bergen; and at Mayence eighteen, who suffered their torturing death with constancy; and at Strasburg, eighty were burned at the instigation of the Bishop of that place. Those persecutions so increased the number of the Waldensian disciples, by the edification which they received who saw them die praising God, with the most confident assurance of his mercy; that notwithstanding the continued persecutions, there were found in the country of Passau, and in Bohemia, in the year 1315, eighty thousand persons who made profession of the scriptural faith.<sup>3</sup>

Those Waldenses had five churches of believers in Bulgaria, Croatia, Dalmatia, and Hungary, superintended by Bartholomew of Carcassone. The Albigenes, who were professors of the same faith, also filled several countries, until at last they were almost utterly exterminated.<sup>4</sup>

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### CHAPTER III.

The names which their adversaries applied to the Waldenses, and the crimes with which their enemies maliciously accused them.

THE monkish Inquisitors, those deadly enemies of the Waldenses, not contented with delivering them up daily to the secular powers, moreover loaded them with reproaches, as the authors of all the heresies in the

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Lyons, has given a true and most excellent history of the Waldensian Churches. As the title of Vallenses, the ancient name of the Vaudois, was taken from the place of their habitation, and not from the name of Waldo; so his disciples and descendants were dispersed into other places, and not among the valleys of the Alps. Allix confesses indeed, that some of Waldo's disciples probably joined themselves with the churches in the valleys of Piedmont, being constrained to it by the persecutions which dispersed them far and near. But Waldo was not the founder of the Churches of the Valleys, which were in existence long before him. In truth, it does not appear that he ever had any communication with them. The authors who speak of him narrate, that he retired from Lyons into Picardy and Flanders. He died before the year 1179, as appears from the account of Gulielmus Mappus. The majority of his disciples spread themselves among the Albigenes, who were in being long before Waldo; as may be seen in the sixty-fourth sermon of Bernard upon the Canticles. Those Waldenses who removed into Italy did not give their name to the Churches in that country, who prior to that time had been called Waldenses from the place of their abode. It was only the malice of their enemies, and the desire to blot out the memorial of their antiquity, which made their adversaries impute their origin to so late a period, and to Peter Waldo.—BRAY.

<sup>2</sup> Vignier, *Historiale Bibliothèque*, Part III., page 130. Dubravius, *History of Bohemia*, book 14.

<sup>3</sup> Sea of Histories.

<sup>4</sup> Matthew Paris, *History of King Henry III. of England*, in the year 1223.

world; and often imputed all the prodigious absurdities which they had forged to the Waldenses, as if their churches were nothing else than the receptacle of every error.

They called them from Waldo, a citizen of Lyons, Waldenses—from the country of Albi, Albigenses—and because those who adhered to the doctrine of Waldo departed from Lyons, after having been despoiled of all human possessions, the most part having been obliged to leave their goods behind them, in derision they named them “the Beggars of Lyons.”

In Dauphiny, they were called in mockery, Chaignards or Dogs; and because some of them passed the Alps, they were called Tramontanes.

From one of the disciples of Waldo, named Joseph, who preached in Dauphiny, in the diocese of Dye, they were styled Josephists.

In England they were denominated Lollards.

From two priests who taught the doctrine of Waldo in Languedoc, and who were called Henry and Esperon, they were known as Henri-cians and Esperonists.

One of their pastors, Arnold Hot, preached among the Albigenses, and from him they were entitled Arnoldists.

In Provence, they were called “Siccars,” from a word in the common pedlars’ French, which signifies cut-purses.

In Italy, because they lived like brethren in true concord, they were styled “Fratricelli,” persons of the same brotherhood.

The Waldenses rejected the Romish festivals, and observed no other day of rest than Sunday; whence they were named “Insabbathas,” regards not of the Sabbaths.

As they were exposed to continual sufferings, from the Latin word, *pati*, to suffer, they were termed “Patarins.”

Seeing that they fled from place to place like poor pilgrims, they were named “Passagenes.”

In Germany, they were calumniated by the epithet “Gazares,” which signifies execrable, and flagitiously wicked.

In Flanders, they were denominated “Turlupins,” or inhabitants with wolves; because, through persecution, they were often constrained to dwell in woods and deserts.

Sometimes they were distinguished after the names of the countries and regions where they dwelt; as from Albi, Albigenses; from Thoulouse, Thoulousians; from Lombardy, Lombards; from Picardy, Picards; from Lyons, Lyonists; from Bulgaria, Bulgarians, which was transformed into “Bougres,” and from Bohemia, Bohemians.

To render them more odious, they were reviled as accomplices with the ancient heretics—because they made profession of purity in their faith and life, they were ridiculed by the titles of “Cathari” and “Puritans.” Inasmuch as they denied that the “Host” which the priests elevate at the mass is God, they were denounced as “Arians,” who disbelieved the divinity of Jesus Christ, the eternal “Son of God.” When they maintained that the authority of emperors and kings doth not depend upon that of the pope, they were vilified as “Manichees,” who acknowledged two supreme opposing principles. To which may be added the other epithets which were applied to the Waldenses, “Gnostics, Adamites, Cataphrigians, and Apostolicals.”

Sometimes they were most violently abused. Matthew Paris characterized them as ribalds and dissolute. The compiler of the *Treasury of Histories* gave them the appellative of Sodomites. Claudius Rubis

records, that when they spoke of a sorcerer, they generally called him a Waldensian.

1. Their adversaries and persecutors applied to the Waldenses that ancient calumny, with which the Heathens blackened the primitive Christians; that they met in the night in secret places, and that the "Barb," their pastor, ordered the candles to be extinguished, saying, "Qui potest capere capiat; catch whom you can catch." In consequence of which every man seized upon the woman who first came to his hands, without any respect of parentage or relationship—and that during the extinction of the light, they committed the most abominable incest—to which their enemies added, that the children of that ungodliness were very proper persons to make Barbs or pastors for the Waldensians.<sup>1</sup>

2. They laid as a charge against the Waldenses, that those Christians maintained, that a man might abandon his wife at his pleasure, and also a woman might forsake her husband, to follow their church.

3. The Waldenses were reproached as having among them a community of all things and even of wives.

4. That they rejected the Baptism of Infants.

5. That they worshipped their pastors with prostration.

6. That they maintained the unlawfulness of swearing on any account.

7. That they affirmed that the pope sinned mortally when he declared war against the Saracens; and that all persons sin mortally, who obey the pope when he proclaims a croisade or a war against the Christians, whom he curses as heretics.

8. That the Waldenses showed no reverence to sacred places; and that the sin is not more heinous to burn a church-edifice, than to break open any other house.

9. That they maintained, the magistrate ought not to condemn any one to death, and they who do so, sin mortally; and that the Waldenses forged and propagated that error, that they might escape the hands of the judges, and remain unpunished.

10. That a layman being in a state of grace, hath more authority than the prince who lives in mortal sin.

11. That with the Manichees, the Waldenses believed in two principles, one the Good God, the Creator of Good; and one Evil, which is the Devil, the Creator of Evil.

12. That whatsoever is done with a good intention is good, and that every one shall be saved through what he doth with the said good intention.

13. That it is a meritorious work, to destroy and persecute Romish priests, prelates, and their subjects; and that they may without sin en-damage them in their persons and goods, and retain the tithes without scruple of conscience.

14. The last calumny is taken out of the book of Rubis; that Waldo and his pastors retired into Dauphiny, in the valley of Pute and Angrogne, where they found persons more like savage beasts than men, fit to be imposed upon by them; and there became sorcerers. He adds, to reproach the cities and states, wherein the Gospel hath been received in our time; "there are two things which commonly

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<sup>1</sup> This imposture is found in Albertus de Capitaneis, on the original of the Vaudois.—Reinerius de formâ Hereticandi Hereticos, Folio 36.—Accusation of the priests of Bohemia to King Ladislaus against the Vaudois.

accompany each other, *Heresy* and *Sorcery*, as hath been verified in our cities and provinces, which have admitted *Heresy* amongst them."<sup>2</sup>

## CHAPTER IV.

The Waldenses are cleared from obloquy by their own writings.

WHETHER the Waldenses of Bohemia were the relics of the people who followed Waldo there, as some affirm that he ended his life in Bohemia, after he had departed out of Germany, and escaped the hands of the Bishops of Mayence and Strasburg, or whether they were persons who afterwards were of the same faith with the Waldenses; they were grievously persecuted by Ladislaus, King of Hungary and Bohemia. We have extant an apology of the said Waldenses in their own tongue, which they sent to the King Lanceslaus, to justify themselves from several crimes with which their adversaries charged them. We have also their book with this inscription, "*Aïço es la causa del nostre despartiment de la Gleisa Romana*;" This is the cause of our separation from the Romish Church. As they answer the calumny, that they met in obscure places, where the candles being put out, they committed abominable incests, we have transcribed the said apology in their own terms, for the greater certainty and edification.

APOLOGY OF THE WALDENSES.—"Among other things, they publish, like angry and barking curs, that it is a law, and common amongst us to say: *Prostitute thyself*; whereby men obey the vilest part of their body more than God, who hath forbidden it. The foolish woman doth not only destroy the happiness of her husband, but her own too. He who addicts himself to this vice, doth not keep faith with any one. Whence it came to pass, that David caused his faithful servant to be slain, that he might enjoy his wife. Amnon defiled his sister Tamar. This vice consumes the estates of many, as it is said of the prodigal son, who wasted his substance in riotous living. Balaam made choice of this vice to provoke the children of Israel to sin, which was the occasion of the death of twenty-four thousand persons. This sin was the occasion of Sampson losing his sight. It perverted Solomon, and many have perished through the beauty of a woman. The remedies for this sin are *fasting*, *prayer*, and keeping at a distance from it. For other vices may be subdued by fighting; but in this we conquer by flight, and by not coming near it; of which we have an example in Joseph. We must then pray to the Lord daily, that he would remove far from us the sin of lasciviousness, and grant us the gifts of understanding and chastity."

In answer to the second scandal, that they maintained, that a man might leave his wife when he pleased, they said, "Matrimony is a bond which nothing but death can untie, unless it be for the cause of fornication, as our Lord Jesus Christ saith. And Paul in the first epistle to the Corin-

<sup>2</sup> Reinerius de formâ Hereticandi Hereticos, Folio 21, 22, Article 32; 36; 37—Reinerius in Summa, Folio 12—Claudius Rubis, History of Lyons, Book III, p. 269—Bernard on the Canticles, Homily 66.—Albert de Capitaneis, Original of the Vaudois, Folio 2, 4.



thians, chapter vii., saith, '*Let not the wife depart from the husband, nor the husband put away his wife.*'"

To the third calumny, touching the community of goods and wives: "They replied concerning marriage, that it was ordained by God of old in Paradise; that it is a good means against adultery, and that it was the saying of Paul, speaking thereof; *Let every man have his own wife, and every woman her own husband. Also the husband ought to love his wife as Christ loves his Church*; and those who are married ought to live holily together, with their children, in the fear of God."<sup>1</sup>

As for goods, every one hath possessed his own at all times, and in all places. In Dauphiny, when the Archbishops of Ambrun, John and Rostain, pillaged them of their substance; when the Lord of Argentiére and Montainar, as also Arroas de Bonne, dispossessed the Waldenses dwelling in the valley of Fraissinière and Argentiére of their goods: the restitution of each estate was prosecuted by their particular proprietors, from whom they had been taken away. The Waldenses of Provence now demand of the pope a restoration of the lands and estates annexed to his domain by confiscation; and every particular person makes oath of their parcels of goods and lands, which descended upon them time out of mind, from their forefathers, the Waldenses. They never had any such community amongst them, which might any way derogate from that lawful propriety which every one hath by right to his own estate.<sup>2</sup>

The fourth calumny was concerning baptism, which it is said they denied to infants. From this imputation they quit themselves as follows: "Neither is the time or place appointed for those who must be baptized; but charity, and the edification of the Church and Congregation, ought to be the rule in this matter;—yet notwithstanding, we bring our children to be baptized; which they ought to do to whom they are nearest related; as are their parents, or those whom God hath inspired with such a charity."<sup>3</sup>

True it is, that being for some hundreds of years constrained to suffer their children to be baptized by the Romish Priests, they deferred the doing of it as long as possible, because they detested the human inventions annexed to the institution of that holy sacrament, which they looked upon as pollutions of it. Their pastors, whom they called Barbs, being often in travels abroad for the service of their churches, they could not have baptism administered to their children by their own ministry. They therefore sometimes kept them long without baptism, upon which delay the priests charged them with that reproach. To which not only their adversaries have given credit, but many of those also who have approved of their lives and faith in all other points.

The fifth scandal was this, that they worshipped their Barbs or pastors, prostrating themselves before them. To clear the Waldenses from that imputation, the reader need only to peruse what they have said concerning the adoration of one Deity alone, in the exposition they made of their doctrine on the first commandment of the Law of God.

But they rendered honour to their pastors, as to those who brought to them the word of reconciliation, treating them kindly, thinking them-

<sup>1</sup> Remedy against the Sin of Luxury, chap. 21.—Waldensian book on the Virtues; Chapter on Marriage.

<sup>2</sup> Louis XII. condemned the usurpers of the goods of the Waldenses, to a restitution.—Treatise of Moneche.

<sup>3</sup> Spiritual Almanac: Folio 45.

selves in conscience and duty thereto obliged. But that they ever intended to give that worship to the creature, which is due to the Creator, cannot be said but by way of calumny, although Albert de Capitaneis, their principal enemy in the diocese of Turin, violently tortured them to extort a confession, that they worshipped their pastors, which he could never force out of their mouths.<sup>4</sup>

The sixth calumny was this, that they maintained it was never lawful to swear.

"They said, that there were some oaths lawful, tending to the honour of God, and the edification of their neighbour, alleging that place in Hebrews, vi: 16. *That men swear by a greater than themselves, and an oath made for confirmation is an end of all strife.* They allege also that it was enjoined the people of Israel, to swear by the name of the Lord, in Deuteronomy vi.; and the oath made betwixt Abimelech and Isaac, Genesis xxvi., and that of Jacob, Genesis xxxi."<sup>5</sup>

The seventh scandal was this, to render them odious to the people, as if they had preferred the peace with the Turk to the enlargement of the Church and Kingdom of Christ; affirming, that they maintained the pope was guilty of mortal sin, when he sent Croisades against the Saracens.

"For their justification it is to be observed, they never complained of the enterprise of the war against the Turks, but that under pretence thereof, the popes robbed the Church of its goods and divine graces, deceiving the ignorant with their bulls and benedictions, who too easily received their lies and innovations, and bought them very dear. Moreover they looked upon it as a hard thing, that the pope had raised against them his *croisades* of pilgrims, to persecute them as heretics, without hearing or convicting them of being such."<sup>6</sup>

But they are not the only persons who have blamed the avarice or vindictive spirits of popes in point of croisades. Languis, a German historian, charged Pope Leo X. with having levied vast sums of money under pretence of the war against the Turk, with which he afterwards gratified thirty Cardinals whom he had newly created.<sup>7</sup>

Guicciardin observes in his history, that "this same pope caused great exactions to be made, of which he gave the fruits into the hands of his sister Magdalen; that all that levy of money was only to satisfy the covetousness of one woman; and that the Bishop of Arembaldo was by him judged a commissary worthy of such an action, to execute it with all manner of extortion."

Alexander IV. changed his vow of Jerusalem into one of *La Pouille*, a vow of revenge; for he gave power to his legate to absolve Henry III. King of England, dispensing him of his vow of entering upon the croisade for Jerusalem; provided that he would march into *La Pouille* to wage war with Manfred, son of Frederick the Emperor. Matthew Paris takes notice of the complaint that was made thereupon; that the tenths formerly set apart for the succour of the Holy Land, were then taken away, and converted to the assistance of *La Pouille* against Christians.<sup>8</sup>

<sup>4</sup> This appeareth by the process formed by the said Albert against the Waldenses of the Alps.

<sup>5</sup> Spiritual Almanac: Exposition of the third Commandment.

<sup>6</sup> Causes of separation from the Church of Rome, p. 233.

<sup>7</sup> Chronicle of France, 1513.—Examination of the Council of Trent, Lib. i., chap. 5.

<sup>8</sup> *La Pouille* is part of Naples, whose inhabitants are held to be very dangerous. Matthew Paris, History of England.—Examination of the Council of Trent, Book i, chap. 5.

The eighth calumny was, that they showed no reverence to **sacred** places ; and that he doth not sin more grievously who burns a church, than he who breaks open another house.

They said, "that neither the place nor the pulpit maketh a man holy ; and they maintained, that they are greatly mistaken who think the better of themselves because of the dignity of the place. For what was greater than Paradise, and what more pure than Heaven ? and nevertheless man was driven out of Paradise because he sinned there. And the angels were expelled from Heaven, that they might be an example to those who should come after, to teach them, that it is not the place, nor the grandeur and dignity thereof, but innocency of life which makes a man holy."<sup>9</sup>

In answer to the ninth accusation, that they maintained, that the magistrates ought not to sentence any one to death, they said, "it is written that a malefactor shall not be suffered to live, and that without correction and discipline, doctrine serves to no purpose ; neither would judgment be known, or sins be punished ; and that therefore just anger is the mother of discipline, and patience without reason the seed of vices, which suffers the wicked to proceed in their excesses."<sup>10</sup>

They complained that the magistrates should deliver them up to death without any other knowledge of their cause than what they had from the bare report of the priests and monks, who were both judges and parties. For those monks pretending to discover errors in them, and then exclaiming against them as abuses which they had introduced into the Church, condemned them as heretics, and delivered them up to the secular power, as they called the magistrates. Now they looked upon this to be cruel simplicity in the magistrates, to give credit to men so biased with passion, as were the priests ; and that they should put to death so many innocent persons, without having heard or examined them."<sup>11</sup>

The tenth calumny tended to render them odious to kings and princes : that the layman in a state of grace hath more authority than a prince living in mortal sin.

In reply to that imputation, they said, that every one ought to be subject to those who are put in authority, to obey them, to love them, to be at peace with them, to honour them with subjection, allegiance, and promptitude, and paying what is due to them."<sup>12</sup>

The eleventh charge was grounded upon this ; that the Waldenses affirmed that the pope had no authority over the kings and princes of the earth, who depended immediately upon God alone. Thence they took occasion to call them *Manichees*, as constituting two Supreme powers.

To which they replied, "We believe that the Holy Trinity created all things both visible and invisible, and that he is Lord of all things in heaven, earth, and hell : as it is said by John, *All things were made by him, and without him was nothing made.*"<sup>13</sup>

The original of that calumny proceeded from the Extravagant of Pope Boniface VIII., who, making the authority of emperors subordinate to his, saith concerning it ; *Quicunque huic potestati resistit, Dei ordinationi resistit, nisi duo, sicut Manichæus, fingat esse principia. De majori-*

<sup>9</sup> Causes of separation from the Church of Rome, p. 125.

<sup>10</sup> Light of the Treasure of Faith.

<sup>11</sup> Complaint made to Ladislaus, King of Hungary and Bohemia.

<sup>12</sup> Causes of separation from the Church of Rome, p. 41.

<sup>13</sup> Treasure of Faith; Article 2.

*tate et obedientia. Can. Unam Sanctam. L. 1, T. 8.* "Whosoever resists this power, resists the ordinance of God, unless, like the Manichees, he pretends that these are two distinct principles."

The twelfth was, that they held, that all which is done with a good intention, is good, and that every one shall be saved by what he does with the said good intention. Which needs no other answer, than this: the Monk Reinerius, the asperser of them, says, that they held, that no one was saved but by his faith, which he styles a sect. An accuser ought to have had a better memory, than to affirm things contradictory.<sup>14</sup>

It is sufficient to show that they believed no such position; for they said against Antichrist, that he hath introduced his errors into the church, under colour of a good intention, and a show of faith.

In their thirteenth calumny they affirmed, that the priests might lawfully be slain or damaged in their tithes, which one might retain without scruple of conscience.

It is certain, that if the Waldenses could have appropriated their tithes to some other use, besides the maintenance of those whom they cried down as "dumb dogs," "drowsy watchmen," "slow bellies, deceivers, and being deceived," they would have done it; but seeing they had not power to detain them, none made any disturbance about that matter.

It appears indeed, that in that which depended on their free will, they offered nothing to such persons, cared not for their masses and trentals after their decease; of which the priests complained, who thence took occasion to accuse them as heretics.<sup>15</sup>

As to revenge, they say—"The Lord knowing that we should be delivered up, said, *beware of men*; but he never teaches nor counsels his elect to slay any one, but to love their enemies. When the disciples said unto him, *shall we call for fire from Heaven and consume them*? Christ answering, said unto them, *you know not what spirit you are of*. Also the Lord said to Peter, *put up thy sword into its place*. Moreover, temporal adversities ought to be contemned and endured with patience, for there happeneth nothing in them that is new. While we are here, we are the threshold of the Lord, to be beaten like corn when it is separated from the chaff!"<sup>16</sup>

The last calumny of the enemies of the Waldenses, is that wherewith Claude de Rubis blackens them, in his history of the city of Lyons; That having retired into the Alps, after their departure from Lyons, "they became like the rest of the people of the country, besom-riders." Indeed there are two things which commonly accompany each other, that is, *Heresy* and *Sorcery*; "as has been verified," says he, "in the cities and provinces which have admitted *Heresy* amongst them."

We will justify the Waldenses, and then make answer to Rubis in behalf of the cities and provinces which he hath involved in his calumny.

They act against the first commandment, say the Waldenses in the exposition on the first commandment of the law, who believe the planets can force the free will of man. Such, as much as in them lies, esteem the planets to be Gods; for they attribute to the creature that which belongs to the Creator. Against whom the prophet Jeremiah saith, "*learn not to follow the ways of the nations, and be not*

<sup>14</sup> Reinerius, Liber de formâ Hæretic., Article 38.

<sup>15</sup> Process against the Waldenses of Dauphiné, by Albert de Capitaneis, and other Monks Inquisitors.

<sup>16</sup> Tribulations, p. 274.

*afraid of those things at which the people are astonished."* And Paul, Galatians iv., "Ye observe days, and months, and times, and years: *I am afraid of you, lest I have bestowed upon you labour in vain."*

They act against this commandment who believe in sorcerers and diviners, for such believe the demons to be Gods. The reason is, because they ask that of the demons, which God alone can grant; to discover things secret, and to declare the truth of things to come; which is forbidden by God, Leviticus xix.—"*Thou shalt not regard them that have familiar spirits, neither seek after wizards. Moreover thou shalt not divine, nor give any heed to dreams. Thou shalt not be an enchanter, neither take counsel with familiar spirits, or wizards, nor inquire after the truth among the dead; for all these things are an abomination unto the Lord. And because of this sin he will destroy you all at your entrance."*

As to the punishment and vengeance which God inflicts upon such transgressors, we read in the second book of Kings, chapter i., that Elijah demanded of Ahaziah saying: Is there no God in Israel that ye go to inquire of Beelzebub the god of Ekron? Now, therefore, thus saith the Lord; thou shalt not come down from that bed on which thou art gone up, but shalt surely die. Saul died because he prevaricated with the commandment which God had commanded him. He kept it not, neither put his trust in the Lord; but asked counsel of a witch, wherefore the Lord slew him, and translated his kingdom to David, the son of Jesse. In the book of Leviticus it is said, "Whosoever shall turn aside to enchanters and wizards, I will lay my hands upon him, and cut him off from the midst of his people."

"Every one ought to know that all enchantments, or conjurations, or charms, or spells, carried for a remedy to persons or beasts, are nothing worth; but are a snare and ambush of the old adversary the Devil, by which he endeavours to deceive mankind." Thus the Waldenses pronounced concerning sorcerers by the word of God.

It remains to make answer to the slander of Claudius Rubis, who says, "It has been verified in our time that heresy and sorcery accompany each other in the cities and provinces which have given place to heretics among them. But in the places where the Reformation hath been introduced, the people have no communication or dealings with sorcerers.

"Nevertheless there are some places where heresy and sorcery still accompany each other; where they who profess themselves to be priests and teachers of the people are often found to be 'deceivers and being deceived'—of which many persons have complained, who have written with regret what they knew to be too much practised among the Popish priests and monks; and even by certain popes themselves."<sup>17</sup>

Bodin observes that there are countless indictments extant in which it appeared that oftentimes the Roman priests are not only sorcerers them-

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<sup>17</sup> Sorcery, which includes pretended "charms and spells," both for benefit and injury, is still practised in every country where Popery is known. It is not now displayed so openly in the countries where the light of the Reformation has penetrated—but the "Blessed Water," the "Consecrated Crucifix," the "Blessed Image," the "Consecrated Coffin-earth," the "Holy Beads," the "Blessed Rock," and the piece of the "Holy Cross," with numerous other devices, all are part of those "enchantments, conjurations, charms, and spells," which the Waldenses denounced several hundred years ago as the "snare of the old adversary the Devil." But those pretended "remedies to persons or beasts" are common even now among the Papists in every Protestant country, as well as in the ten kingdoms of the ancient Roman empire.

selves, but that they sing masses for other sorcerers ; accommodating them with sacrifices, the Agnus Dei, consecrating their parchments and other paper charms, putting rings, and medals, and plates with characters on them, and other similar things, upon or under their altars when they say mass, to give them the virtue necessary for the object designed.<sup>18</sup>

John Uvier, who was physician to the Duke of Cleves, although a Romanist, thus wrote :—"If the pastors of churches would stop up the windows of false doctrines and other impieties, they would certainly have a salutary preservative for all those under their care against the delusions, impostures and practices of the devil ; by which means, the less prudent would not be so often entangled as we frequently see they are, to the great loss and detriment of souls, which happens not only through the negligence of the priests, but also by their own practice, perverse doctrine and deceitful works, whereby they entice the simple populace to have recourse to unlawful remedies whenever they are afflicted with sudden and long diseases, and known or unknown maladies. But perhaps those 'magicians,' who profess themselves to be ecclesiastical persons, and who are commonly priests or monks, may think that that art belongs to them as a prerogative, and that they have a right thereto by hereditary succession, because the priests of Egypt were 'necromancers.'" Now, adds Uvier, "I did not think that those who would justify those priests and the use of enchantments, would be so bold as to object to me several popes of Rome who were so skilful in the 'black art,' that they practised it to their great satisfaction and profit. We are informed by Nauclerus and Platina, that Pope Sylvester II. procured the popedom by his pretended or real sorceries. Pope Benedict IX., they affirm, attained the station of pope by similar means. Prior to his elevation he had been called *Theophilact* ; but after he became pope, for his atrocious wickedness, he was denominated '*Maledictus*.' Cardinal Bruno testifies that Pope John XX. and Pope John XXI. also participated in those 'curious arts.' All the popes, from Sylvester II. to Gregory VII., who was one of their greatest and most eminent 'magicians,' addicted themselves to use abominable rites, even in the forests and on the tops of the mountains. Of Hildebrand himself, John le Maire attests, that he attained his command over the people in his earlier course by his simulated sorceries ; for as evidence of miraculous powers, and as a token of his sanctity, he would shake the sleeves of his gown, and sparks of fire would apparently fly out of them ; so that the eyes of the simple and unwary distant beholders were altogether deceived. The 'magicians,' therefore, of our own times must not think to cover themselves with that cloak, and under such a pretence. This, nevertheless, ought to be deplored, that we shall scarcely find any persons more wicked, and yet less punished on earth than those priests who never admonish the ignorant, that the sorrows which happen to them are sent with the permission of God."

Uvier also complained that such conjuring priests presumed to make use of an endless variety of "blasphemies," embellished with crosses, which they delineated with their own unhappy and sacrilegious hands. They also contrived holy water, salt for exorcisms, consecrated wax-tapers, incense, pictures, candles and tapers against the devil at Candlemas, fumigations of holy boughs on Palm Sunday, herbs hung before the door for John the Baptist, and flowers sprinkled with holy water on the

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<sup>18</sup> Bodin, *Demon*, Book 4, chapter vi., p. 211.

carnival of the Assumption of the Virgin Mary. Moreover, those priests abuse the Eucharist itself, as a means to commit their wickedness. Theology and even Medical Science have been polluted by painted exorcisms, by mumbling of barbarous jargon in unknown tongues, by the abuse which is made of the holy Scripture, by bands, necklaces, and bosom-charms, all of which conspire and procure the utter perdition and damnation of men.

The Roman priests also have counterfeited apparitions of Satan, who pretended to be the soul of some deceased person, then suffering in the fire of purgatory; thereby in the name of the departed spirit to induce the living to make their donations and offerings, and to bequeath their endowments, that the avarice of the priests might be satiated.<sup>19</sup>

Lavater also relates at large the history of the pretended spirit of Orleans, and the proceedings of the Jacobins at Berne, which was one of the most famous impostures of the monkish sorcerers.<sup>20</sup>

Nevertheless, it is reasonable to except those priests whom God hath not so far abandoned, as to suffer them to adhere to the sorceries of Satan.

Thus the Waldenses are justified and cleared from the greatest calumnies which have been laid upon them, by the testimony of their own writings; but additional evidence of their innocency, which is free from all suspicion can be adduced, while it has been necessary to retort upon the wicked priests who have belied and reviled the Waldenses, the reproaches which they have cast upon those who sincerely received the gospel.

## CHAPTER V.

Testimony given to the piety, probity, and learning of the Waldenses, by their adversaries.

JACOBUS DE RIBERIA, who helped to persecute the Waldenses, said, that they for a long time have obtained the greatest esteem in Gallia Narbonensis, in the diocese of Albi, Rodes, Cahors, and Agen; and that they who would be styled priests and bishops were then but little accounted of. As almost all the said priests were either unworthy or ignorant, it was an easy matter for the Waldenses to obtain the preference amongst the people, for the excellency of their doctrine.<sup>1</sup>

Reinerius, a Jacobin monk, and cruel persecutor of the Waldenses, endeavouring to blacken them, because they frequently read the holy scriptures, said, that when the Waldenses would make known their doctrine, they alleged many things concerning chastity, humility, and other virtues, showing, that we must avoid vice, citing the words of Christ and his Apostles; so that they who heard them were ravished to that degree, that they thought they heard rather angels than men.

<sup>19</sup> John Uvier, Book of Devils. Book iv., chapter 3, Folio 303.—Platina, Life of Sylvester II., Folio 218.—John le Maire, History of the Schisms of the Church, who also wrote this declaration—"All the Popes here spoken of were 'magicians, necromancers, and sorcerers.'"

<sup>20</sup> Lavater, Book of the Apparition of Devils, chapter xiii., section 7. This history of the monkish imposture at Berne is a curious piece, which deserves to be reprinted. It will be found in the Appendix, as detailed by Burnet, in his "Letter from Zurich."

<sup>1</sup> Jacob Riberia, Collections of the city of Thoulouse.—Chassagnon, History of the Albigenes, p. 27.

Moreover, they taught what manner of men the disciples of Christ ought to be, by the words of the Gospel and Apostles, saying, that they only are the successors of the Apostles who follow their life; concluding thereby that the pope, the bishops and clerks, who enjoy the riches of this world, and do not imitate the sanctity of the Apostles, are not the governors of the church of Christ, Christ not being willing to commit his church to such persons, lest they should have prostituted it by evil examples, and wicked actions, rather than exhibit to him from thence a virgin-like chastity, in the same purity as they received it from him; and therefore that they must not be obeyed. He adds that they led very religious lives in all things, that their manners were seasoned with grace, and their words prudent and well polished, speaking voluntarily of God, of his saints, of attaining virtues, and of avoiding vices, and of doing several other good things, that they might be esteemed the better men.<sup>2</sup>

Claude de Seissel, Archbishop of Turin, renders this testimony touching the Waldenses: "As to their life and manners they are perfect, and irreprehensible, without reproach among men, addicting themselves with all their might to observe the commandments of God."<sup>3</sup>

Cardinal Baronius styles the Waldenses of Thoulouse good men, and peaceable persons, although elsewhere he falsely lays very many crimes to their charge.<sup>4</sup>

As to their learning, Reinerius said, that they taught their children and their families the epistles and gospels.<sup>5</sup>

Jacobus de Riberia saith, that they were so well instructed in the holy scriptures, that he had seen peasants who could recite the book of Job, *verbatim*; and several others who could perfectly repeat all the New Testament.<sup>6</sup>

The Bishop of Cavaillon, Vesembecius, at the time of the great persecution of the Waldenses of Merindol and Provence, made a certain preaching monk enter into conference with them, to convince them of their errors, before he proceeded to violence. But the priest withdrew in confusion, saying, he had never in the whole course of his life made such progress in the holy scriptures, as he had done in those few days that he had conferred with the Waldenses, in examining the articles of their confession by the passages of holy scripture by them quoted. But that Bishop, not contented, sent to them a whole troop of young doctors, lately come from the Sorbonne, to confound them by the subtilty of their questions. But one of them upon his retreat openly acknowledged, he had learned more of the doctrine necessary to salvation by hearing the answers of the little children of the Waldenses in their catechism, than by all the theological disputes which he had ever heard in Paris.<sup>7</sup>

Bernard de Girard, lord of Haillan, saith, that the Waldenses have been charged with more wicked opinions than they are really guilty of; because they have stirred up the hatred of the popes and great men of the world against them, by the freedom which they take to reprove the vices and dissolute practices of princes and ecclesiastics.<sup>8</sup>

<sup>2</sup> Reinerius, de formâ Heretic., Folio 98.

<sup>3</sup> Claudius Seissel, Treatise against the Waldenses.

<sup>4</sup> Baronius, Eccles. Annal., Tom. xii, anno 1170. Page 835.

<sup>5</sup> Reinerius, de formâ Heretic., Folio 97.

<sup>6</sup> Jacob Riberia, Collections of the city of Thoulouse.

<sup>7</sup> Vesembecius, Oration concerning the Waldenses.

<sup>8</sup> Bernard de Girard, History of France, book xx.



King Louis XII. of France, having received information from the enemies of the Waldenses dwelling in Provence, of several heinous crimes which they fathered upon them, sent to the place Adam Fumée, master of requests, and a Sorbonist doctor, called Parui, who was his confessor, to make inquiry into the matter. They visited all their parishes and temples, and neither found there any images, or sign of the ornaments belonging to the mass, or ceremonies of the Romish Church; much less could they discover any of those crimes with which they were charged. But rather that they kept the Sabbath duly, caused their children to be baptized according to the primitive Church, taught them the articles of the Christian faith, and the commandments of God. The king having heard the report of the said commissioners said, with an oath, that they were better men than himself or his people.\*

That same king, understanding that in Dauphiny, in the valley of Fraissiniere, in the diocese of Ambrun, there were certain people who lived like beasts without religion, having an ill opinion of the Romish worship, he sent thither one of his confessors, and the official of Orleans, to bring him a true information thereof. That confessor, with his colleague, repaired to the place, where he examined the Waldenses dwelling in the said valley touching their faith and conversation. The Archbishop of Ambrun, who made account, that the goods of the said Waldenses would be annexed to the domains of his archbishopric, as being liable to confiscation for the cause of heresy, very much pressed the said commissioners to condemn them immediately as heretics. But the said commissioners would not fulfil his desire. They rather justified them as much as in them lay, insomuch that, before their departure, the said king's confessor, being at his lodgings at the tavern in Ambrun, said, in the presence of several of his assistants, that he wished he were as good a Christian as the worst of the said valley of Fraissiniere.<sup>10</sup>

\* Vesembecius, Oration respecting the Waldenses.

<sup>10</sup> Memorials of Rostain, archbishop of Ambrun. The above testimony, by the official of Orleans, to the faith and manners of the poor Christians of Fraissiniere, is very important. Thuanus also describes both their poverty and piety, on the account of the former of which indeed, they might well enough be said to live a life little differing from that of beasts; which is a most glorious testimony of their religion by one of the contrary faith. Therefore, as well to gratify those who can relish the fineness of description, as to contribute to the just esteem which all Protestants ought to have of those most miserably oppressed, but otherwise most happy people, I subjoin the account of the Waldenses by Thuanus, in his own words:—

“Harum omnium maxime horrida, et agrestis FRAXINEA, quippe cujus sterile et incultum solum, ob idque egentissimi sunt accolæ. Iis vestitus ex pellibus ovium, quas desiccatas et salitas cum lana succida viri pariter ac femine induunt, et anterioribus pedibus fibulæ vicem ad collum, posterioribus infra ventrem subnectunt, exertis brachiis, eo tantum diverso feminarum a viris amictu, quod hi vili subligari inferiora, femine stola quæ paulo infra genua, neque ultra protenditur, tegunt. Præterea pro caliendo involucrum linteum habent; alioqui nullus lintei neque in vestitu, neque in lectis apud eos usus. Nam vestiti fere somnium capiunt, stramine subiecto et pellibus ovillis tecti. Septem vicis omnino habitant, et domos e silicibus constructas habent tecto plano, et luto congesto, quod imbribus corruptum, aut solum cylindro rursus æquatum concinnant. In iis promiscue et jumenta stabulantur; sæpe tamen interjecta, speluncis præterea duabus ad fortuita sepositis, in quarum altera greges ac jumenta abscondunt, cum periculum ab incursionibus imminet, in alteram ipsi se recipiunt. In iis fornices fontibus manantes stillicidio congelato innumeras animalium, et aliarum rerum figuras incredibili ludentis naturæ artificio exprimunt, et lumine ab antri ostio accepto lacubus binis inibi e specu saturientibus, et in se absorptis representatæ jucunditatem simul et stuporem spectantibus afferunt. Lacte et ferina vivunt, pecuariam exercentes; scolopetari optimi, et certis ictibus dorcadæ ibices et ursos figere peritissimi, quorum carnibus fere impuris vescuntur,

King Francis I., successor to Louis XII., understanding that the Parliament of Provence laid heavy impositions upon the Waldenses at Merindol, Cabriers, and other neighbouring places, had a desire to inform himself about the faith, life, and manners of the said Waldenses. For that purpose he commanded William de Bellay, Lord of Langeai, his lieutenant in Piedmont, to make diligent inquiry into that affair. Whereupon the said Lord sent into Provence two honest persons to inquire into the life and religion of the said Waldenses, and the proceedings of the Parliament against them. Those two deputies brought word back to the Lord of Langeai, that the greatest part of the inhabitants of Provence affirmed, that the said Waldenses were a laborious people, and that about two hundred years ago they came from Piedmont to dwell in Provence; and that betaking themselves to husbandry and feeding of cattle, they made many villages, destroyed by the wars, and other desert and uncultivated places, very fertile by their industry; and that by the informations given them in the said country of Provence, they had learned that the said inhabitants of Merindol, were a very peaceable people, loved by their neighbours, and men of good behaviour and of a godly conversation, careful in keeping their promises, punctual in paying their debts, without suffering themselves to be sued; a charitable people, not permitting any amongst them to fall into want; and that they were liberal to strangers and poor passengers, according to their ability. That the inhabitants of Provence affirmed that those of Merindol were distinguished from those

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ex earum usu et squalore tanta graveolentia contracta, ut e longinquo nares feriant, vixque ab advenis ferri possint.

"His opibus beati æquali omnium paupertate nullos mendicos habent, et seipsis contenti raras amicitias nullas cum aliis adfinitates colunt. In tanta tenuitate ino et pædore degentibus, quod et horrida ac deformi specie præ se ferunt, est quod mireris, quod non incultis omnino moribus sunt; nam nemo apud eos nescit literas, et scribere commodè sciunt. Linguam Gallicam callent, quatenus BIBLIA INTELLIGERE et PSALMOS CANERE POSSINT. Nec quemquam temere inter eos puerum reperias, qui interrogatus fidei, quam profitentur, non expedite memoriter rationem reddat, quod illis cum CÆTERIS CONVALLENSIBUS commune est. Tributum religioso pendunt, idque secundum Dei cultum in ipsorum fidei confessione præcipuum est. Quod si bellis civilibus prohibeantur, illud nihilominus coactum seponunt, et cum per pacem licet, coactoribus regiis studiose exsolvi curant."—*Thuari Hist., Lib. 27, p. 16.*

The translation of the essential part of Du Thou's testimony follows. It perfectly sustains the declaration of Louis XII., that the Waldenses, "me et cætero populo meo catholico meliores viri sunt; are better men than myself and the rest of my people."

"Of all those valleys the most rugged and wild is that of Fraissiniere, and on account of its sterile and untilled soil, its inhabitants are most needy. Their covering is of sheepskins salted and dried, with the wool not scoured, and with them both men and women are clothed. \* \* \* The women have a linen covering for the head; otherwise they use not linen, either for clothing or for beds; for, almost clad, they take their sleep on straw, and covered with the skins of sheep. They dwell in seven villages, and their houses are constructed of flint stones; \* \* \* In those places they and their cattle are housed; but often, when there is danger from their persecutors, they conceal themselves and their flocks in caves. \* \* \* Employed in raising cattle, they live on milk and venison, and are excellent marksmen in killing goats and bears. \* \* \*

"Blessed with this wealth, the equal poverty of all, they have no beggars; and contented with themselves, they cultivate little friendship and no affinity with others. But notwithstanding they live in such poverty and filth, which they exhibit in its most disgusting shape, it is marvellous that they are not uncultivated in their manners; for no one among them is ignorant of letters, and they all can write fairly. They are well taught in the French language; so that they can UNDERSTAND THE BIBLE, and SING THE PSALMS. Nor can any boy be found at random among them, who being asked of the faith which they profess, will not promptly give you an intelligible account, which is common to all the OTHER VALLENSSES. They religiously pay their tribute, which, after their service to God, is a chief article in their confession of faith."

of the country, in that they could not endure to blaspheme, or name the devil, or swear at all, unless in the making some solemn contracts, or in judgment. They were also known by this, that when they came into any company where they talked lasciviously or blasphemously, to the dishonour of God, they straightway withdrew from such company.

Thus many enemies of the Waldenses have spoken honourably of them, enforced thereunto by the power of the truth.<sup>11</sup>

## CHAPTER VI.

*Testimony concerning the Waldenses by distinguished professors of the Reformed Churches.*

THEODORE BEZA called the Waldenses, the offspring of the purest part of the Ancient Christian Church, because they have been miraculously preserved from the errors and ignorance which Satan hath hatched in these latter times.<sup>1</sup>

Constans upon the Apocalypse, shows that the reformation of the western Church began in France by the means of Waldo, and that from this source it spread itself through the rest of Europe.<sup>2</sup>

Bullinger speaks thus of the Waldenses: For four hundred years and more, in France, Italy, Germany, Poland, Bohemia, and other countries throughout the world, the Waldenses have made profession of the Gospel of Jesus Christ, and have in several writings, and continual preachings, accused the pope as the true Antichrist, of whom the Apostle John foretold, and that therefore we ought to flee from him. These people, having undergone divers and cruel torments, have constantly and openly given testimony to their faith by glorious martyrdoms, and still do the same to this day. They could never be extirpated, although it had been often attempted by the most potent kings and princes, instigated by the pope. God frustrated those endeavours.<sup>3</sup>

Luther confessed, that he hated the Waldenses, as persons consigned over to perdition, until having understood the piety of their faith by their confessions and writings, he perceived that those good men had been greatly wronged whom the pope had condemned as heretics, being rather worthy of the praise due to holy martyrs. Among the said Waldenses, he had found one thing worthy of admiration, and to be taken notice of as miraculous and unheard of in the popish Church; that the said Waldenses, having forsaken all human doctrines, did meditate with all their power in the law of the Lord day and night; that they were very expert in the Scriptures, and well versed in them. On the contrary, those who are called our masters in the papacy, did so despise the holy writings, in the title of which notwithstanding they gloried, that there were amongst them they who had not so much as seen the Bible.

Moreover, having read the confession of the Waldenses, he said that

<sup>11</sup> Joachim Camerarius, *History*, page 352.

<sup>1</sup> Beza, *History of Worthy Men*.

<sup>2</sup> Constans, *Comment upon the Revelations*, Chapter XI.

<sup>3</sup> Bullinger, *Preface to sermons upon the Apocalypse*.

he gave thanks to God for the great light which he had bestowed upon them, rejoicing with them, that all cause of suspicion being removed from among them, and the reformed, which made them be suspected by each other of heresy, they were however so nearly united as to have been brought together into one sheepfold under the only pastor and bishop of our souls, who is blessed for ever.<sup>4</sup>

Æcolampadius wrote to the Waldenses of Provence the following letter, in the year 1530.

"We have learnt with great satisfaction, by your faithful pastor George Morel, the nature of your faith and religion, and in what terms you declare it. Therefore we thank our most merciful Father, who hath called you to so great a light in this age, even amidst the obscure clouds of ignorance which have spread themselves throughout the world, and notwithstanding the extravagant power of Antichrist. And therefore we acknowledge that Christ is in you; for which cause we love you like brethren, and would to God we were able to make you sensible in effect, of that which we shall be ready to do for you, although it were to be done with the utmost difficulty. Finally, we desire that what we write may not be looked upon as if through pride we assumed any superiority to ourselves, but out of that brotherly love and charity we bear towards you. The Father of our Lord Jesus Christ hath imparted to you an excellent knowledge of his truth, more than to many other people, and hath blessed you with a spiritual benediction. So that if you persist in his grace, he hath much greater treasures with which he will enrich you, and make you perfect, according to your advancement in the measure of the inheritance of Christ."

This letter is thus subscribed; "Æcolampadius prays to the Holy Ghost, for the grace of God the Father, through his Son Jesus Christ, to the well-beloved brethren in Christ, called Waldenses."<sup>5</sup>

Martin Bucer wrote to them, at the same time, the following epistle.

"Blessed be the Lord God the Father, who hath preserved you to this present time in so great a knowledge of his truth; and hath now excited you to search after it, and made you capable thereof. Now the nature of true faith is this: That as soon as it discovers in part, some glimpse of the divine light, it diligently keeps that which God hath already given. We have Paul for an example, who, throughout all his epistles, manifests his care to promote the glory of God. And surely if we pray heartily that the name of God may be glorified, and that his kingdom may come, we shall never endeavour anything with so much diligence, as the establishment of the truth where it is not, and the advancement thereof where it is already planted. This one thing chiefly troubles us, that we cannot answer you so fully as we could have desired."<sup>6</sup>

Monsieur de Vignaux, who was pastor of the Waldenses in the valleys of Piedmont, hath written a treatise of their life, manners, and religion, to whom he gives this testimony: That they were men of a holy life and conversation, excellent conduct, and great enemies to vice; *but especially their barbs*, for so they called their pastors. Speaking of those of his time, he saith, "We live in peace and concord with one another in those valleys of Piedmont, have commerce and contract among ourselves, having never mixed ourselves with those of the Church of Rome, by marrying

<sup>4</sup> Vesembecius, Oration concerning the Waldenses.

<sup>5</sup> George Morel, conference with Æcolampadius.

<sup>6</sup> Book on the Persecutions of the Waldenses.

our sons to their daughters, nor our daughters to their sons. Yet they are so pleased with our manners and customs, that the papist lords and others had rather take men and maid servants from amongst us, than from among those of their own religion; and come from afar to seek nurses amongst us for their little children, finding, as they say, more fidelity in ours than in their own."

As to the doctrine for which the Waldenses have been persecuted, they affirmed, that we must believe the Holy Scriptures only in that which concerns our salvation, without any dependance upon men. The Scriptures contain all things necessary to our salvation; and nothing else ought to be received, except that which God hath commanded us.

There is but one only Mediator, and that, therefore, we must not invoke the saints.

That there is no purgatory, but that all who are justified by Christ go to life eternal.

They receive and approve of two sacraments, baptism, and the communion of the Holy Supper.

They affirm that all masses are damnable, especially those that are said for the dead; and that, therefore, they ought to be abolished.

That all human traditions ought to be rejected, and not held necessary to salvation.

The singing and recital of the office, and fasts confined to certain days, superfluous holy days, the difference of meats, degrees and orders of priests, monks, and nuns, benedictions, and consecrations of creatures, vows, pilgrimages, and the whole confused and vast heap of ceremonies formerly invented, ought to be abolished.

They deny the supremacy of the pope, especially the power which he hath usurped over the civil government; and admit of no other degrees, besides bishops, priests, and deacons.

The see of Rome is the true Babylon, and the pope is the original of all the evils in these days.

The marriage of priests is good and necessary.

Those who hear the word of God, and have a right knowledge of it, are the true Church, to whom Jesus Christ hath committed the keys to let in his sheep, and drive out the wolves.

This, says Vignaux, is the doctrine of the Waldenses, which the enemies of truth have impugned, and for which they have in those days persecuted them, as the said enemies themselves testify.<sup>7</sup>

Viret speaks of the Waldenses as follows:—The papists have very unjustly fathered great crimes on the ancient faithful, called the Waldenses, or poor people of Lyons; whereby they began to make known that the pope was Antichrist, and that his doctrine was only the traditions of men, contrary to the doctrine of Jesus Christ. Upon which they proceeded against them, as did the heathen of old against the ancient Christians, accusing them of killing their own children in their assemblies.<sup>8</sup>

The author of the history of the Reformed Churches in France speaks of them thus:—The Waldenses, says he, time out of mind have opposed the abuses of the Roman Church, and have been persecuted after such a manner, not by the sword of the word of God, but by all kind of cruelty,

<sup>7</sup> Vignaux, Memorials of the Waldenses, Folio 4.—Vignaux, History of the State of the Church, p. 337.

<sup>8</sup> Viret, True and False Religion, liber iv., chapter xiii., p. 249.

together with a million of calumnies and false accusations, that they have been forced to disperse themselves wherever they could, wandering through the deserts like poor wild beasts: the Lord, nevertheless, having so preserved the residue of them, that notwithstanding the rage of all the world, they still inhabit in three countries at a great distance one from another; in Calabria, Bohemia, Piedmont, and the neighbouring countries, where they dispersed themselves from the quarters of Provence, about two hundred and seventy years ago. And as to their religion, they never adhered to papal superstitions; for which reason they have been continually harassed by the bishops and inquisitors, abusing the arm of secular justice; so that it is an evident miracle that they have been able to continue.<sup>9</sup>

John Chassagnon writes as follows:—It hath been written of the Waldenses, saith he, that they have rejected all the traditions and ordinances of the Roman Church, as unprofitable and superstitious; and that they did not much esteem the whole body of the clergy and prelates. For which reasons having been excommunicated and expelled the country, they dispersed themselves in divers places; as into Dauphiny, Provence, Languedoc, Piedmont, Calabria, Bohemia, England, and elsewhere. Some have writ, that a part of the Waldenses retired into Lombardy, where they multiplied, so that their doctrine spread itself through Italy, and came even into Sicily. Nevertheless in that great dispersion, they always maintained among them some union and fraternity, for the space of four hundred years, living in great simplicity, and the fear of God.<sup>10</sup>

The author of the History of the State of the Church, page 336, writes thus concerning them:—After Waldo and his followers were banished from Lyons, a part of them retired into Lombardy, where they so increased, that their doctrine began to be displayed throughout Italy, and even entered Sicily: as appears by the patents of Frederic II. granted against them in his reign.<sup>11</sup>

Vesembecius says, that when the popes and their satellites saw that the Roman hierarchy was much damaged by means of the Waldenses, in that several princes had already undertaken their defence, among which were the King of Arragon, and the Count de Thoulouse, formerly powerful princes among the Gauls, they began to oppress them through very unjust occasions, and endeavoured to expose them to the hatred of the people, and especially of kings, that they might by that means entirely exterminate them.<sup>12</sup>

Vignier says, that the Waldenses have suffered long and grievous persecutions, and notwithstanding, nothing could hinder them from retaining always the doctrine which they had received from the Waldenses, handing it down to their posterity.<sup>13</sup>

Holagaray affirms that the opinion of the Waldenses and Albigenses was contrary to all the maxims of the Bishop of Rome, which had been publicly preached, and commanded by his authority. He means those which were invented by him, and were contrary to the word of God. And testifies, that they had amongst them very understanding and learned men to support their faith against the monks.<sup>14</sup>

<sup>9</sup> Ecclesiastical History of the Reformed Churches of France, tom. 1, liber i., p. 35.

<sup>10</sup> Chassagnon, History of the Albigeois, p. 25.

<sup>11</sup> Vignaux, History of the State of the Church, p. 336.

<sup>12</sup> Vesembecius, Oration concerning the Waldenses.

<sup>13</sup> Vignier, Historica Bibliotheca, p. 130.

<sup>14</sup> Holagaray, History of Foix, pp. 120, 121.

Matthias Illyricus saith, that he found by the writings of Waldo, which he left behind him in certain old parchments, and which he had in his custody, that he was a learned man, and that he did not only cause the books of the Bible to be translated into the vulgar tongue, but took pains himself therein.<sup>15</sup>

It is most certain that the enemies of Waldo and the Waldenses will have no regard to the above-mentioned testimonies, because they will make the like account both of the witnesses, and of those to whom they bear witness, and will reckon all of them as heretics. This history is not calculated for the enemies of the truth; but that the lovers thereof might see that many great persons, whose memory we honour, have spoken of the Waldenses as of true servants of God, who have maintained the truth at the expense of their lives, and have earnestly desired to see in their days the Reformation which we enjoy in ours.

Aldegonde saith, the cause wherefore they condemned them as heretics, was only because they maintained that the mass is a wicked corruption of the Holy Supper of the Lord:<sup>16</sup>

The Host is an idol forged by men:

The Church of Rome is wholly degenerated, and full of infidelity and idolatry:

The traditions of the Church are only superstitions and human inventions:

The pope is not the head of the Church: and for other like points.

Aldegonde also observes, it is the work of God; since whatever diligence the popes and their clergy have used, employing the assistances of princes and secular magistrates, they have not been able to exterminate them, nor by proscriptions, banishments, excommunications, publications of croisades, and pardons to all those who would wage war upon them; nor by all sorts of torments, fires, flames, gibbets, and cruel blood-shedding, have been able to hinder their doctrine from spreading itself almost through all the ends of the earth.

## CHAPTER VII.

Peter Waldo and the Waldenses left books behind them, which manifest their faith and character.

FORASMUCH as it may be called in question, whether there be this day in the world any proofs of their faith, we must produce an inventory of books which the Waldenses have left us, that when their doctrine shall be in dispute, every one may understand which are the writings whence we have extracted that which they have taught.

The author of the History of the State of the Church gives the subsequent testimony. Waldo, saith he, at that same time made a collection in the vulgar tongue of the passages of the Ancient Fathers, that he might fortify his disciples, not only by the authority of the Holy Scripture, but also by the testimony of the doctors, against the adversaries.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>15</sup> Matthias Illyricus, Catalogue of the Witnesses of the Truth, p. 134.

<sup>16</sup> Aldegonde, Table of Differences. Part iii., p. 150.

<sup>1</sup> Vignaux, History of the State of the Church, p. 307.

About the year 1580, Sieur de Vignaux, pastor of the churches of the Waldenses in Piedmont, wrote as follows, in Memoirs concerning the Original, Antiquity, Doctrine, Religion, Manners, Discipline; Persecutions, Confessions, and Progress of the people styled Waldenses. I who am the author, saith he, can testify, that having been sent among those people to preach to them the gospel of Christ our Lord, which I did for near forty years; I had no occasion to labour to divert them from the ceremonies and customs of the Church of Rome, nor to wean them from the pope, the mass, and purgatory, and such things, in which they were already teachers before me, although the greatest part of them knew not their alphabet.

To that good servant of God we are much indebted for the collection of the ancient books of the Waldenses. For he collected, and carefully preserved as many as he could find of them; and he did this with the greater advantage, by reason that he lived among them. Towards the conclusion of his life, he delivered to certain particular persons his memoirs, which he wrote concerning the Waldenses, and all the old books which he had procured in their valleys; of which he expresses himself as follows:—We have, saith he, extant among us some old writings of the Waldenses, containing catechisms and sermons, which are manuscripts written in the vulgar tongue, wherein there is nothing which makes for the pope and papacy. And it is a wonderful thing, saith he, that they have seen so clearly in a time of darkness more gross than that of Egypt.<sup>2</sup>

Le Sieur de St. Ferriol, minister of the church of Orange, inspired with a holy curiosity, made a collection of several of the said books, which he showed to Aldegonde, who makes mention of it in his first table; in which place, he says, that there are some other books extant of a very ancient letter in the library of Joseph de la Scale.<sup>3</sup>

Now the above-mentioned books, having been remitted to me, to furnish materials for this history, I will set down a catalogue of them.

In the first place we have amongst us a New Testament in parchment in the Vaudois tongue, very well written, though of a very ancient letter.

A book entitled *Antichrist*, which begins after this manner; *Qual cosa sia l'Antechrist en datte de l'an mille cent et vingt*; in which volume are contained several sermons of the barbs of the Waldenses.

A treatise concerning Sins, and their remedies.

A treatise, entitled, a Book of Virtues.

A treatise inscribed *De l'enseignement de li filli*: the instruction of children.

A treatise *Del Matrimoni*; of matrimony.

Another entitled, *La Parlar de li Philosophes et Doctors*: that is, the sentences of the philosophers and doctors.

A commentary or paraphrase upon the Apostles' creed.

A treatise of Sacraments.

A paraphrase or commentary upon the Commandments of the law of God.

A paraphrase upon the Lord's Prayer.

<sup>2</sup> Vignaux, History of the State of the Church, p. 3.

<sup>3</sup> Aldegonde, first table; p. 153.



A treatise of Fasting.

One of Tribulations.

A little catechism, entitled Interrogations of Minors.

A treatise against Dancing and Taverns.

Another of the four last things: Death to all: Life eternal to the good: Hell to the wicked: and the Last Judgment.

A book entitled *Del Purgatori soima*, fictitious purgatory; or the dream of purgatory.

A treatise against the Invocation of Saints.

We have moreover a very ancient book entitled, *A Eiço es la causa del nostre Despartiment de la Gleisa Romana*: The cause of our separation from Rome.

In that volume, there is an epistle or apology of the Waldenses inscribed; *La Epistola al serenissimo Rey Lancelau, a li Duqs, Barons, et a li plus veil del Regne. Lo petit tropel de li Christians appella per fals nom falsament.* P. O. V. The poor, or Waldenses.

Also a book, wherein there are several Sermons of the Barbes, and an epistle to friends, containing several excellent doctrines, to instruct all sorts of persons how to behave themselves in this life, and in all ages.

To which volume is annexed, a treatise entitled *Sacerdotium*; in which the charge of good pastors is described, and the punishment of wicked ones.

We have likewise extant among us a Book of Poetry, in the Vaudois tongue, in which are the following treatises: A prayer inscribed New Comfort. A poem concerning the four kinds of seed mentioned in the Gospel. Another, entitled the Bark. A fourth, called the Noble Lesson. Which book is mentioned by Aldegonde.\*

We have also an excellent treatise, entitled, Vergier of Consolation; containing several excellent instructions confirmed by Holy Scripture, and by the authority of several of the ancients.

Likewise an old one in parchment, entitled, the Church. Also another called the Treasure and Light of Faith.

Also a book inscribed, the Spiritual Almanac.

Another in parchment, concerning the method of separating precious from vile and contemptible things; virtues from vices.

A tract of George Morel, wherein are contained all the inquiries of himself, and Peter Mascon, from Ecolampadius and Bucer, concerning religion, and their answers.

All which books are written in the Vaudois tongue, which is partly Provençal, partly Piedmontane. All of them sufficient thoroughly to instruct their people in a good life and faith, and whose doctrine is consonant with that at present taught and believed in the Reformed Churches.

Thence we conclude, that the doctrine maintained in our days against the inventions of men, is novel to those alone who have smothered it; or that their ancestors abhorred it, for want of the knowledge of its goodness since we find a considerable number of writings which manifest that the doctrine for these several hundred years past constantly maintained, down to the Reformation, is the same with that which for several ages hath been stifled by ignorance and ingratitude. Which the adversaries themselves have in some measure confessed, when they said, that that doctrine which is called novel, is nothing else but the essence of the errors of the ancient aldenses.

\* Aldegonde, first table; p. 153.

## CHAPTER VIII.

The enemies of the ancient Waldenses acknowledge that their doctrine was agreeable to the religious creed and principles of the Reformation.

LINDANUS calls Galvin the inheritor of the doctrine of the Waldenses.<sup>1</sup>

Cardinal Hosius saith, that the leprosy of the Waldenses spread its infection throughout all Bohemia, when following the doctrine of Waldo, the greatest part of the kingdom of Bohemia separated from the Church of Rome.<sup>2</sup>

Gualtier, a Jesuitical monk, in his chronographical table, or to express it accurately, in his FORMULARY OF LIES, makes the faith of the Waldenses, and those whom he calls the injured poor, and the ministers of Calvin, the same in twenty-seven articles.<sup>3</sup>

Claudius Rubis saith, that the heresies which have been current in our time, were founded upon those of the Waldenses, and calls them the relics of Waldo.<sup>4</sup>

Æneas Sylvius, afterwards Pope Pius II., and John Dubravius, Bishop of Olmutz, make the doctrine taught by Calvin akin to that of the Waldenses.<sup>5</sup>

Thomas Walden, who wrote against Wickliff, saith, that the doctrine of Waldo was conveyed from France into England. To which agrees Sieur de la Popeliniere, who adds, that the doctrine of the modern Protestants is but little different from that of the Waldenses, which having, saith he, been received into the quarters of Albi, and communicated by the Albigenes to the English their neighbours, when the English held Guienne in their possession, was infused into the understandings of some persons, who carried it into England, and was, as it were, handed down to Wickliff, a very eminent divine in the University of Oxford, and curate of Lutterworth, in the diocese of Lincoln, who by his eloquence and extraordinary doctrine, so won upon the hearts and understandings of several Englishmen, even of the greatest quality, that a scholar brought to Prague a book of Wickliff, entitled, the Universals, which being diligently read by John Huss, increased and explained the doctrine sowed a long time before in Bohemia by the Waldenses, who fled thither ever since Waldo's time: So that several of the people, scholars, nobility, and ecclesiastics, did embrace it.<sup>6</sup>

Cardinal Bellarmin saith, that Wickliff could add nothing to the heresy of the Waldenses.<sup>7</sup>

Eccius reproaches Luther, that he did but renew the heresies of the Waldenses and Albigenes, of Wickliff and John Huss, formerly condemned.<sup>8</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Lindanus, Analytic Tables.

<sup>2</sup> Hosius, Heresies of our Time; Book I.

<sup>3</sup> Gualtier, Chronological Table, xii. Chapter xv., p. 494.

<sup>4</sup> Claudius Rubis, History of the city of Lyons; Liber iii; p. 269.

<sup>5</sup> Sylvius, History of Bohemia.—Dubravius, History of Bohemia.

<sup>6</sup> Walden, Things Sacramental, vol. vi., title 12.—Papoliniere, History of France.

<sup>7</sup> Bellarmin, Tom. ii., Liber i., Chapter xxvi.,—Column 86.

<sup>8</sup> Eccius, Common Places.—Chapter xxviii.

Alphonsus de Castro saith, that Wickliff did only bring to light again the errors of the Waldenses.<sup>9</sup>

Arnald Sorbin, Priest of Monteig, casts this reproach upon the cities of Antonin, Montauban, Millan, Castres, Puylorens, Gaillac, and others of the Albigeois, that they only renewed the erroneous doctrines of the Albigenes.<sup>10</sup>

John de Cardonne, in his rhymes in the title-page of the history of the Monk of the Valleys of Sernay, speaks after this manner:

"What the sect of Geneva doth admit,  
The heretics Albigeois do commit."<sup>11</sup>

Anthony d'Ardene, of Thoulouse, saith, that the Albigenes held the same heresies

"With which the Huguenots, our brethren, were  
Seasoned; the same design, the self-same care."<sup>12</sup>

We are not then to dispute the antiquity of the doctrine, but the purity thereof. Since, not only according to the words even of the enemies of the Waldenses, and of those of the last reformation, there hath been for the space of whole ages a series of persons, who, crying out against the abuses which had crept into the Church, were oppressed by persecutions.

## CHAPTER IX.

Enumeration of the pastors of the churches who instructed the Waldenses during several hundred years, as far as they have come to our knowledge.

FORASMUCH as it is denied that there hath been a succession of those instruments, who from time to time have opposed the corruptions and errors which have been in vogue, we will produce a list of those whom the adversaries have mentioned and put to death, as of the pastors of the Waldenses, for these four hundred and fifty years past.

Waldo began to teach the people in the year of our Lord 1160.

Le Sieur de St. Aldegonde observes, that at the same time that Waldo was inspired at Lyons, God raised up others in Provence and Languedoc, of whom the chief were Arnold, Esperon, and Joseph; from whom they were called Arnoldists, Josephists, and Esperonists. As their doctrine was first received in Alby, in the country of the Albigenes, they were commonly styled Albigenes; so that the Waldenses on one hand and the Albigenes on the other, were like the two olive trees, or the two lamps of which John speaks, the fatness and light of which were diffused throughout all the ends of the earth.

Next followed Peter Bruis, from whom many gave them the name of Petrobrusians.

Whose successors in the doctrine were two evangelists, named HENRI,

<sup>9</sup> Alphonsus de Castro, *Heresies*, Liber vi., page 99.

<sup>10</sup> Arnold Sorbin, *History of Friar Peter of the Valleys of Sernay*; folio 172.

<sup>11</sup> John de Cardonne, *History of the Monk of the Valleys of Sernay*.

<sup>12</sup> Anthony d'Ardene's *history of the Monk of the Valleys of Sernay*.

one of whom had been a priest, and the other a monk, who taught in the bishoprics of Arles, Ambrun, Die, and Gap, whence being expelled, they were received at Thoulouse.<sup>1</sup>

There was, also, a certain man called Bartholomew, born at Carcassone, who founded and governed the Churches in Bulgaria, Croatia, Dalmatia, Hungary, and ordained ministers, as Matthew Paris relates it, styling him their pope and bishop; and alleged to that purpose the letter of the bishop of Porto, legate of the pope in those parts, who wrote to the Archbishop of Rouen, and his suffragans, to desire assistance against them, until at length they were constrained to flee into the deserts, according to the prophecy of the Revelation; which says, That the woman who brought forth the male-child, and is the true Church of God, should be persecuted by the Dragon, who would cast water out of his mouth after her like a flood, to swallow her up; so that she should be compelled to flee into the wilderness, according to the prophecy in the Revelations, saying, that the woman girded with scarlet, who brought forth the male-child, and is the true Church of God, "should be persecuted by the Dragon, who would cast water like a flood after her to swallow her up, so that she should be constrained to flee into the wilderness, where she should be fed for the space of a thousand two hundred and threescore days."—Rev. xii. 12—17.

Reinerius tells us of two eminent bishops of the Waldenses, Belazianza, of Verona, and John de Luggio, who taught amongst them after the above-mentioned persons, about the year 1250.

Arnold Hot was a pastor among the Waldenses, who held the famous dispute at Mont Real.

Lollard, also, was in great esteem amongst them, not only on account of the commentary that he wrote upon the Revelations, but, also, because he conveyed and made known their doctrine in England, from whom the British Waldenses were called Lollards.

The Waldenses of the valleys of Angrogne, Dauphiny, Provence, and Calabria, had *Barbs*, whose memory they have preserved for more than three hundred years past.<sup>2</sup>

1. **PIEDMONT.**—Paul Gignons de Bobi.—Peter the Less.—Anthony of Suza.

2. **ST. MARTIN.**—John Martin.—Matthew de Bobi.—Philip of Lucerne.—George of Piedmont.—Stephen Laurence.—John of Lucerne.—John Girard de Meane.—Bartholomew Tertian de Meane, surnamed De la Grosse Main.

3. **ANGROGNE.**—Thomasin Bastie, who died in the service of the churches of la Pouille.—Sebastian Bastie, who died in Calabria.—John Bellonat, of the same valley, the first of the barbs who entered upon the conjugal state.

4. **PEROUSE.**—James Germain.—Benedict Gorran.—Paul Gignons de Bobi.—John Romagnol of Sesene.

5. **DAUPHINY.**—Francis of Fraissiniere.—Michael Porte of Loyse in Brianconnois.—Peter Flot of Pragela.

6. **PROVENCE.**—Angelin de la Coste.—Daniel de Valentia, and John de Molines; which two were sent into Bohemia for the service of the Churches of the Waldenses set up in that kingdom; but they betrayed the Churches, and did them a great deal of mischief, for they discovered all that they knew of their flocks to the enemies of the said Waldenses, which was the

<sup>1</sup> Aldegonde, First Table of Differences, pp. 150, 151.

<sup>2</sup> Vignaux, Memoirs, folio 14.

occasion of a great persecution. That made the Bohemian Churches write to those of the Waldenses in the Alps, to nominate none to such vocations, but those whose faith, probity and zeal, had been known by long experience.

7.—The last barbs that they had, were George Morel and Peter Mascon, who, in the year 1530, were sent into Germany to confer concerning their religion, with Œcolampadius, Bucer, and others. Peter Mascon was taken prisoner at Dijon.

Stephen Negrin and Lewis Paschal were sent into Calabria in the year 1560, to the churches of the Waldenses at Montald, St. Xist, and other neighbouring places. Stephen Negrin was taken prisoner, and carried to Consence, where he was starved in prison.

Lewis Paschal was sent to Rome, where he was burnt alive, in the presence of Pope Pius IV. and his cardinals, whom he summoned to appear before the throne of the Lamb, to give an account of their cruelties.

There were very many others, as appears by the processes commenced against the Waldenses of Dauphiny, which have come to our hands, wherein mention is made of several barbs or pastors, who were imprisoned and put to death by the monks of the Inquisition, who caused them to be watched, even upon the high Alps, when they were going from one flock to the other.\* But this small number is sufficient to show that, notwithstanding their enemies did all they could utterly to destroy and root them out, yet the Lord hath not ceased to provide labourers for his harvest, when there was need of them, and to preserve even to this day, in Dauphiny and Provence, thousands of persons, who glory in being descended from the ancient Waldenses; and who were rather inheritors of their zeal and piety, than of their earthly substance, which the persecutors possessed, as the pope doth to this day, who hath added to his *pretended* Apostolic Chamber, all the inheritance of the Waldenses, who had any substance in his country of Vinicin. Under the colour of heresy, if he could, he would take away their very lives, so far is he from thinking to restore that which he hath in vain been importuned to do, and which his officers have promised to restore with more vanity and falsehood than true meaning.

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## CHAPTER X.

The Pastors of the Waldenses; their vocation, and the zeal and fidelity with which they fulfilled their charge.

THAT the character of the Waldensian Barbs or Pastors may accurately be known, we insert the following testimony concerning them:—

The monk Reinerius reported many things concerning the vocation of the pastors of the Waldenses, which are mere fictions; as that they had a greater bishop and two followers, whom he called the *Elder Son* and the

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\* This appears by the bag of processes which was found in the cabinet of D'Avencon, Archbishop of Ambrun, at the capture of Ambrun, in the last croisade against the Waldenses of Fraissiniere and L'Argentiere.

younger, and a deacon; that he laid his hands upon others with a sovereign authority, and sent them where he thought good, like a pope.<sup>1</sup>

Against these impostures, here follows what is found in their writings, concerning the vocation of their pastors.<sup>2</sup>

All those, say they, who are to be received as pastors among us, while they are yet with their parents, entreat us to receive them into the ministry; and that we would be pleased to pray to God, that they may be rendered capable of so great a charge. Which the said supplicants do only to show their humility.

They are to learn by heart, all the chapters of Matthew and John, and all the epistles called canonical, a good part of the writings of Solomon, David and the Prophets.

Afterwards, having good testimonies of their learning and conversation, they are receive with the imposition of hands into the function of preaching.

The last that are received, must do nothing without the license of their seniors; as also those that are first are to undertake nothing without the approbation of their companions, that everything may be done among us with order.

The pastors meet together once every year, to determine of our affairs in a general council.

Our food and apparel are willingly administered unto us, and as it were by way of alms, sufficient enough, by those whom we teach.

The money which is given us by the people, is carried to the aforesaid general council, and is delivered in the presence of all. It is there received by the ancients, and part thereof is given to travellers or way-faring men, according to their necessities, and part unto the poor.

When any of the pastors fall into sin, he is cast out of our community, and forbidden the function of preaching.

Thus you see how the Barbs or Pastors of the Waldenses were chosen and maintained in their functions.

## CHAPTER XI.

Epistle of Pastor Bartholomew Tertian, to the Waldensian Churches of Pragela.

THAT the holy zeal and affection may be known, with which the Barbs or Pastors of the Waldenses endeavoured to call the people to repentance, and to instruct them in the faith, we insert a pastoral letter of one of their ministers.

*Jesus be with you. To all our faithful and well-beloved Brethren, health and salvation be with you all. Amen.*

“These are to advertise your brotherhood, and hereby acquit myself of the duty which I owe to you on God’s part, principally touching the care of the salvation of your souls, according to that light of truth which the

<sup>1</sup> Reinerius, de formâ Heretic., Folio 8.

<sup>2</sup> Book of the Pastors, George Morel and Peter Mascon, p. 8.

Most High hath bestowed upon you, that it would please every one of you, to maintain, increase, and cherish, to the utmost of your power, without diminution, those good beginnings and customs left unto us by our ancestors, of which we were not worthy. For it would be of little profit to us to be renewed by the fatherly kindness, and the light which God hath given us, if we addict ourselves to mundane, diabolical, and carnal conversation, abandoning the principal which is God, and the salvation of our souls, for this short temporal life. The Lord saith in the Gospel, *What doth it profit a man to gain the whole world, and to lose his own soul? For it would have been better never to have known the way of righteousness, than having known it, to act contrary thereto.* We shall be inexcusable, and our condemnation the greater; for there are greater torments prepared for those who have had the greatest knowledge. Wherefore let me beseech you, by the love of God, not to diminish, but to increase the love, fear and obedience due to God, and to yourselves among yourselves; and to keep all the good customs which you have heard and understood from God by our means; and that you would remove from among you all defects and wants troubling your peace, love and concord; and everything which deprives you of the service of God, your salvation, and the administration of the truth; if you desire God to be propitious to you in your temporal and spiritual good things. For you can do nothing without him; and if you desire to be heirs of his glory, do that which he commandeth you. *If you will enter into life, keep my commandments.* Likewise be careful that there be not nourished among you any sports, gluttony, whoredom, dancing, or other debaucheries, nor questions, nor deceits, nor usury, nor discords. Neither support nor entertain among you any persons of a wicked life, nor those who give a scandal or ill example amongst you; but let charity and fidelity reign amongst you, and every good example; doing to one another as every one would have done to himself. For otherwise it is not possible for any one to be saved, or have the favour either of God or men in this world, nor glory in the other. And it is necessary that the guides chiefly have a hand in this, and such who rule and govern: for when the head is sick, all the members are disordered thereby. Therefore if you hope and desire to enjoy eternal life, to live in esteem and good repute, and to prosper in this world in your temporal and spiritual good things, cleanse yourselves from all disorderly ways, that God may be always with you, who never forsakes those that put their trust in him. But know this for certain, that he doth neither hear nor dwell with sinners, nor in the soul that is addicted to wickedness, nor with the man who is subject to sin. Therefore let every one purify the ways of his heart, and fly from danger, if he will not perish therein. Put in practice these things; and the God of peace be with you. Accompany us in our true, devout and humble prayers, that he would be pleased to save all those his faithful, who put their trust in Christ Jesus. Amen.

BARTHOLOMEW TERTIAN,

*Ready to serve you in all things possible, according to the will of God."*

This epistle of the pastor Tertian gives us a proof of the holy zeal that they had to lead the people to God.

## CHAPTER XII.

## Confessions of the Faith of the Waldenses.

THE confessions of faith of the Waldenses show clearly how pure their doctrines have been, and how far they have kept themselves from the errors and heresies which were imputed to them ; and therefore, that they were unjustly persecuted.<sup>1</sup>

1. We believe and do firmly hold all that which is contained in the twelve articles of the Symbol, called the Apostles' Creed ; and account for heresies all that which is disagreeable to the said twelve articles.

2. We believe that there is one God, Father, Son, and Holy Ghost.

3. We acknowledge for Holy Canonical Scripture, the books of the Bible—

Genesis.—Exodus.—Leviticus.—Numbers.—Deuteronomy.—Joshua.—Judges.—Ruth.—I. Samuel.—II. Samuel.—I. of Kings.—II. of Kings.—I. of Chronicles.—II. of Chronicles.—Ezra.—Nehemiah.—Esther.—Job.—Book of Psalms.—Proverbs of Solomon.—Ecclesiastes.—Song of Solomon.—Prophecy of Isaiah.—Jeremiah.—Lamentations of Jeremiah.—Ezekiel.—Daniel.—Hosea.—Joel.—Amos.—Obadiah.—Jonas.—Micah.—Nahum.—Zephaniah.—Habakkuk.—Haggai.—Zechariah.—Malachi.

After which follow the Apocryphal books, which are not received by the Hebrews ; but we read them as Jerom saith in his prologue to the Proverbs, for the instruction of the people, not to confirm the authority of ecclesiastical doctrines—

Third Book of Esdras.—Fourth of Esdras.—Tobit.—Judith.—Wisdom.—Ecclesiasticus.—Baruch, with the epistle of Jeremiah.—Esther, from chapter X. to the end.—Song of the three children.—History of Susanna.—History of the Dragon.—First of Machabees.—Second of Machabees.—Third of Machabees.

After these follow the books of the New Testament—

The Gospels of Matthew.—Mark.—Luke.—and John.—Acts of the Apostles.—Epistle of Paul to the Romans.—First epistle to the Corinthians.—Second epistle to the Corinthians.—Epistle to the Galatians.—Epistle to the Ephesians.—Epistle to the Philippians.—Epistle to the Colossians.—First epistle to the Thessalonians.—Second epistle to the Thessalonians.—First epistle to Timothy.—Second epistle to Timothy.—Epistle to Titus.—Epistle to Philemon.—Epistle to the Hebrews.—Epistle of James.—First epistle of Peter.—Second epistle of Peter.—First epistle of John.—Second epistle of John.—Third epistle of John.—Epistle of Jude.—Revelation of John.

4. The books above-mentioned teach us—That there is one God Almighty, wise and good, who in his goodness made all things. For he created Adam after his own image and likeness. But through the malice of the devil, and the disobedience of Adam, sin entered into the world, and we became sinners in Adam, and by Adam.

<sup>1</sup> This confession is extracted from the work entitled, "*The Spiritual Almanac*," and also from the "*Memorials*" of George Morel.—It is found also in both the original Waldensian and in the French languages, in the "*Histoire des Vaudois*," by BREZ ; volume ii., p. 281.



5. That Christ was promised to the fathers, who received the law, to the end, that knowing their sin by the law, and their unrighteousness and insufficiency, they might desire the coming of Christ, that he might make satisfaction for their sins, and accomplish the law by himself.

6. That Christ was born at the time appointed by God his Father ; at the time when all iniquity did abound, and not for the sake of our good works. For all were sinners : But that he might show us grace and mercy, as he was true.

7. That Christ is our life, and truth, and peace, and righteousness : our shepherd and advocate ; our sacrifice and priest, who died for the salvation of all those who should believe, and rose again for our justification.

8. In like manner we firmly believe, that there is no other mediator and advocate with God the Father, besides Jesus Christ ; as to the Virgin Mary, shé was holy, humble, and full of grace. Thus do we believe concerning all the other saints ; that they wait in heaven, for the resurrection of their bodies at the day of judgment.

9. We do likewise believè, that after this life, there are but two places, the one for those that are saved, the other for the damned, which we call paradise and hell ; altogether denying that imaginary purgatory of antichrist, invented against the truth.

10. Moreover we have always looked upon all human inventions, as an unspeakable abomination before God : as the feasts and vigils of saints ; and the water called holy water ; and the abstaining upon certain days from flesh, and such like things, and chiefly the masses.

11. We have in abomination all human inventions, as proceeding from antichrist ; which stir up trouble, and are prejudicial to the liberty of the spirit.

12. We believe that the sacraments are signs of a holy thing, or visible forms of an invisible grace ; holding it good and necessary, that the faithful do sometimes make use of the said signs or visible forms, when it can be done. Notwithstanding, we do believe and hold that the said faithful may be saved, though they do not receive the aforesaid signs, when they have neither place nor opportunity of so doing.

13. We do acknowledge no other sacraments, besides Baptism and the Lord's Supper.

14. We honour the secular powers, with subjection, obedience, promptitude, and payment.

## II. WALDENSIAN CONFESSION OF FAITH.<sup>2</sup>

1. We believe that there is but one God, who is a spirit, creator of all things, Father of all, who is above all, by all, and in us all, whom we must worship in spirit and truth ; upon whom alone we wait, and to whom we give the glory of our life, food, raiment, health,

<sup>2</sup> This confession of faith is extracted from "*Mondes Francois*," by Charles du Moulin ; p. 65.

sickness, prosperity and adversity; we love him as the author of all goodness, we fear him as the knower and searcher of hearts.

2. We believe that Jesus Christ is the Son and Image of the Father; that in him doth all fulness of the Godhead dwell, by whom we know the Father; who is our mediator and advocate, and there is no other name under heaven given unto men, whereby they may be saved: in whose name alone we invoke the Father, and use no other prayers than those contained in the holy scripture, or agreeable thereto in substance.

3. We believe that the Holy Ghost is our comforter, proceeding from the Father, and from the Son: by whose inspiration we make prayers, being renewed by him, who formeth all good works within us, and by him we have knowledge of all truth.

4. We believe that there is one Holy Church, which is the congregation of all the elect and faithful, which were from the beginning of the world, and shall be to the end thereof—of which our Lord Jesus Christ is the head, which is governed by his word, and guided by the Holy Ghost. In which all good Christians ought to remain, for it prays for all incessantly, and the word thereof is agreeable to God, without which no one can be saved.

5. We hold that the ministers of the church ought to be unblameable, as well in life as doctrine. Else that they ought to be deposed from their function, and others substituted in their room; and that no person ought to presume to take that honour, but he who is called of God, as Aaron; feeding the flock of God, not for filthy lucre's sake, or as having superiority over the clergy; but as being an example to the flock, in word, in conversation, in charity, in faith, and in chastity.

6. We confess that kings, princes, and governors, are ordained and established ministers of God, whom we must obey. For they bear the sword for the defence of the innocent, and the punishment of evil-doers; for that reason we are bound to honour and pay them tribute. From which power and authority no man can exempt himself, as may appear from the example of our Lord Jesus Christ, who refused not to pay tribute, not taking upon him any jurisdiction of temporal power.

7. We believe that in the sacrament of baptism, the water is the visible and external sign, which represents to us that which, by virtue of the invisible God so working, is within us: that is to say, the renovation of the spirit, and the mortification of our members in Jesus Christ; by which also we are received into the holy congregation of God's people, protesting and declaring before it our faith and change of life.

8. We hold that the sacrament of the table, or supper of the Lord Jesus Christ, is a holy commemoration and thanksgiving, for the benefits which we have received by his death and passion, which is to be received in faith and charity; examining ourselves, that so we may eat of that bread, and drink of that cup, as it is written in the holy scripture.

9. We confess that marriage is good and honourable, holy, and instituted of God, which ought to be forbidden to none, if there be no impediment by the word of God.

10. We acknowledge that those who fear God, seek to please him, and to do the good works which he hath prepared, that we may walk therein; which are charity, joy, peace, patience, benignity, goodness, mildness, sobriety, and other works contained in the holy scripture.

11. We confess we must beware of false teachers, whose end is to

divert the people from the true worship of God, that they may rely upon creatures, putting their confidence in them; and also that they may desist from the good works which are contained in the holy scripture, to do those that are invented by men.

12. We hold the Old and New Testament for the rule of our life; and we agree to the general confession of faith, with the articles contained in the symbol of the Apostles.

## CHAPTER XIII.

*Athanasian Creed in the Ancient Vernacular Waldensian Language.*

FORASMUCH as the pastors of the Waldenses taught their people the Athanasian creed in the Waldensian language, we give it from their books verbatim.

“Qualquequal vol esser fait salf devant totas cosas es de necessita tenir la fe Catholica, laqual sialcun non tenre entierament sensa dubi periré eternalment. Ma aquesta es la fe Catholica, que nos honran un Dio en Trinita et la Trinita en Unita, non confondent personnas, ni departent la substantia. Car autra es la personna del paire, et del filli, et del sanct esperit. Lo Paire non crea, lo filli non crea, lo sanct esperit non crea. Lo paire non mesuriuol, lo filli non mesuriuol, lo sanct esperit non mesuriuol. Lo paire eternal, lo filli eternal, et lo sanct esperit eternal. Emperço non tres eternal, ma un Eternal; enaimi non tres mesuriols, et non crea. Semeillament lo paire tot poissant, lo filli tot poissant, et lo sanct esperit tot poissant, emperço non tres tot poissants, ma un tot poissant. Enaimi lo paire es Dio, lo filli Dio, lo sanct esperit Dio; emperço non tres Dios, ma un Dio. Enaimi lo paire es seignor, lo filli es seignor, lo sanct esperit seignor; emperço non tres Seignors, ma un Seigneur. Ca enaimi nos sen costreit confessar par Christiana verita, una chascuna persona Dio o Seigneur, enaimi par Catholica Religion, nos sen defendu dire esser tres Dios ni tres Signors. Lo filli es sol del paire, non faict, ni cosa, ma engenera; lo sanct esprit es del paire, et del filli, non faict, ni crea, ni engenera, ma procedent. Donc lo es un paire, non tres paires, un filli, non tres filli, un sanct esperit, non tres sanct esperits. En aquesta Trinita alcuna cosa non es primera ni derniera, alcuna cosa major o menor, ma totas tres personas entre lor son ensem eternal, et eygals. Enaimi que per totas cosas coma esdict le sobre, lasia d'honorar la Trinita en Unita, et l'Unita en Trinita. Donc aquel que vol esser fait salf senta enaima de la Trinita. Ma a la salut eternal es necessari creyre fidelment l'encarnation del nostre Seigneur Jesus Christ. Donc la fe dreita es que nos crean, et confessan que lo nostra Seigneur Jesus Christ filli de Dio, es Dio et home. Et es Dio engendra avant li segle, de la substantia del paire, et es home na al segle de la substantia de la maire, essent perfect Dio et perfect home; d'anima rational, et d' humana carn, aigal del paire, second la divinita, et menor second l'humanita. Loqual iaciço quel sia Dio et home, emperço lo es un Christ, et non dui, ma un, non per conversion de la divinita en carn ma propiament de la humanita en Dio, un totalment, non per confusion de la divinita en carn, ma propiament de la humanita en Dio: un totalment, non per confusion de substantia, ma per unita de personnas. Car enaima larma rational, et la carn, es un homme, enaima Dio et home es un Christ, loqual est passionna per la nostra salut, descende en li enferrn, lo ters iorn, risuscite de li mort, et monti en li cel, et se sec a

la dextra de Dio lo paire omnipotent. Dequi es avenir jugear li vio, et li mort. A l'advenement delqual tuit an a resuscitar, cum li lor corps, et son a rendre raçon de li lor propi faict. Et aquilli que aurant faict ben, anaren en vita eterna, et aquilli que aurant faict mal anaran al fuoc eternal."

The faith of the Waldenses is sufficiently known by that which is contained in the pure and holy doctrines of their confessions above-mentioned: nevertheless, it is for the same, that they have been persecuted for the space of four hundred and fifty years; and still would be if they lived near those places where human inventions are preferred before the Word of God. For though Satan be confounded, and his kingdom dissipated by the brightness of the gospel, yet he ceaseth not to hold under the yoke of idolatry, those whose understandings he has darkened, and to keep them by violence under the tyranny of his laws; hiding that ignorance and error that men do naturally love, in those darknesses wherein they do take pleasure. But as it has not pleased the eternal God, that the faith of his servants and martyrs should be buried, so likewise it pleases him, that their constancy should be made manifest for our edification and example. And this is the reason why having showed in the first book, that the Waldenses believed what was necessary to salvation; I have thought good to publish in the second book, that which is come to my knowledge of their sufferings for righteousness' sake.

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## BOOK II.

HISTORY OF THE WALDENSES ; CONTAINING THE GRIEVOUS PERSECUTIONS  
WHICH THEY SUFFERED FOR THEIR FAITH.

## CHAPTER I

By whom—wherefore—by what means—and at what time, the Waldenses were persecuted.

THE Waldenses have had no worse enemies than the Popes, because, saith monk Reinerius, “ I. Of all those that have risen up against the church of Rome, the Waldenses have been the most prejudicial and pernicious, forasmuch as they have opposed it for a long time. II. Because that sect is universal, for there is scarce any country where it hath not taken footing. III. Because all others beget in people a dread and horror of them by their blasphemies against God. But this on the contrary hath a great appearance of godliness, because they live righteously before men, and believe rightly of God in all things, and hold all the articles contained in the Creed, hating and reviling the church of Rome ; and in this they are easily believed of the people.”

“ The first lesson which the Waldenses taught those whom they drew to their sect is, that they inform them what manner of persons the disciples of Christ ought to be, by the words of the gospel and the apostles ; saying, that those only are the successors of the apostles who imitate their life. Inferring thence, that the pope, the bishops, and clergy, who enjoy the riches of this world, and seek after them, do not follow the lives of the apostles, and therefore are not the true guides of the church ; it having never been the design of our Lord Jesus Christ to commit his chaste and well-beloved spouse to those who would rather prostitute it by their wicked examples and works, than preserve it in the same purity in which they received it at the beginning, a virgin chaste and without spot.”<sup>2</sup>

Out of hatred, therefore, of the Waldenses, for the many things written by them against the luxury, avarice, pride, and errors introduced by the popes, they have persecuted them to death.

The means which they used to exterminate them, were their thunder-

<sup>1</sup> Reinerius of the Waldenses.

<sup>2</sup> Reinerius, Cap. de studio pervertendi alios, et modo docendi, fol. 98.

bolts and their anathemas, their canons, constitutions, and decrees, and whatsoever might render them odious to the kings, princes, and the people of the earth ; giving them over, as much as in them lay, to Satan ; interdicting them all communion and society with those who obeyed their laws ; judging them unworthy and incapable of any office, honour, profits, and to inherit or make wills, or to be buried in the common church-yards. They confiscated their goods, disinherited their children, and where they could be apprehended, they condemned them to be delivered up to the secular power, their houses to be razed, and their goods and moveables to be confiscated, or given to the first conqueror. Of all such sentences we have at this day the schedule given by the popes, also the instruments that they employed in such executions, and the commands that they laid upon kings, princes, magistrates, consuls, and people, to make an exact inquisition, to shut the gates of the cities, to call for the best help and assistance of the people, to sound the toll-bell, to arm themselves, and, if they could not otherwise apprehend them, to slay them, and use all manner of violence which they should see needful in such a case. Giving to the accusers a third part, or some other portion of that which should be confiscated, all counsellors and favourers of them being condemned to the same punishment.<sup>3</sup>

Forasmuch as no prince or magistrate, or any other person, had the power to frame a process against any one in the matter of pretended heresy, commandment was given to the bishops, every one in his jurisdiction, to make an inquiry into their flocks, and take notice how every particular person was affected by the ordinances of the popes and the church of Rome. So when Waldo began to cry out against the corruptions of the said church of Rome, Alexander III., then pope, enjoined the Archbishop of Lyons to proceed against him ; and because the said prelate did not exterminate him accordingly, and as soon as he desired, he immediately assembled a council, wherein he excommunicated Waldo, and all those who followed his doctrine, though under other names.<sup>4</sup>

But yet, this means was judged to be too easy for so pressing an occasion, as was that of the Waldenses, who, notwithstanding those thunderbolts, did not cease to preach that the pope was Antichrist, the mass an abomination, the host an idol, and purgatory a fable : points which being received were sufficient to overthrow all the authority of the popes, and to dry up all the rivers of gain, and the fat of the clergy. Therefore, Pope Innocent III., who succeeded Pope Celestin III., about the year 1193, took another method than that of the ordinary bishops, to frame the process against the Waldenses and others, whom he called heretics. He authorized certain monks who had the full power of the Inquisition in their hands to frame the process, and deliver over to the secular power by a far shorter way, but much more cruel ; for they delivered up the people by thousands into the hands of the magistrates, and the magistrates to the executioners ; whereby in a few years all Christendom was moved by those pitiful and lamentable spectacles, grieving to see all those persons hanged or burnt who trusted only in our Lord Jesus Christ for

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<sup>3</sup> These sentences are to be seen in the Manual of the Inquisitors, with the letters of Pope Alexander III., and of divers other popes who succeeded him.

<sup>4</sup> This council was held at Lateran, 1180. Chapter xxvii.

salvation, and renounced all the vain hopes invented by men, and for their profit ; which was all the fruit of the Papal Inquisition.

## CHAPTER II.

The Inquisition—by whom first put in practice—and by what subtleties and cruelties the Waldenses thereby have been vexed.

IN the beginning of the prosecutions of the popes to exterminate the Waldenses, they were contented with the above-mentioned methods ; but either because the business went forward but slowly, or because, notwithstanding those means, the number of those who exclaimed against the errors of the papacy did so increase, that those means were found too weak : it was resolved by Pope Innocent III. to try if by the way of preaching he could obtain that which he never could do by violence.

He sent, therefore, his bishops and monks, who preached in those places suspected to entertain the religion of the Waldenses. But as the author of the *Treasure of Histories* saith, the said preachers converted not any but a few poor people ; but the greatest part still persisted in the profession of their faith.<sup>1</sup> In *Gallia Narbonensis* were two monks employed, Peter de Chateauneuf and Dominic, born at Calahorre in Spain ; to whom was joined a certain abbot of Cisteaux.<sup>2</sup> Several other priests and monks came as it were in a body, and among others a Bishop of Cestre. The monk Peter of Chateauneuf was slain,<sup>3</sup> and canonized for a saint ; but Dominic continued his persecutions against the said Waldenses both in word and fact. That monk seeing himself in authority, instituted an order of begging monks, who from him were called Dominicans, and the said monk was canonized, and his order confirmed by Pope Honorius.<sup>4</sup> For it seemed to him that the church of Rome was falling, and that Dominic sustained it with his shoulders, in recompense of which, the said pope commanded that the said order should have the precedence among the mendicants. It is reported of this monk, that his mother going with child of him, dreamed that she had in her womb a dog which cast flames of fire out of his throat.<sup>5</sup> His followers interpreted that to his advantage, as if it thereby were signified, that he should be that dog that should vomit out that fire which should consume the heretics. On the contrary, those whom he daily delivered up to death, might very well say that he was that dog that had set all Christendom on fire ; and that the flames which proceeded out of his throat, were to denote the fiery and infernal sentences which he should pronounce against the Christians. So well did he manage his, and his brethren's affairs, that before he died, he built a great many houses in Languedoc, Provence, Dauphiny, Spain, and elsewhere ;

<sup>1</sup> *Treasure of Histories*, in the year 1206.

<sup>2</sup> *Lib. Inquisit.*, cap. de non occidendo, fol. 100.

<sup>3</sup> Sic fuit occisus Sanctus Petrus de ordine fratrum predicatorum.

<sup>4</sup> Moynes qui mandient.

<sup>5</sup> Martyrology, in the *Life of Dominic*.

for which he obtained great revenues, either from the liberality of those who affected his order, or from the confiscations of the Waldenses; out of which the earl Simon of Montfort gave him vast privileges and alms; as "*cutting large thongs out of another man's leather.*"

He laboured in the Inquisition as chief, with such satisfaction to the popes, that from that time forward the monks of his order were ever employed in the Inquisition.

The power conferred upon the said monks inquisitors was without limits. For they might assemble the people when they pleased by the sound of a bell, and send out process if there were occasion to imprison, or open the prisons without control. All manner of accusations were valid; a sorcerer, or a harlot, was a sufficient and irreproachable witness in the case of pretended heresy. It was no matter who accused, or whether it were by word of mouth, or by tickets cast in before the Inquisitor. Without any personal appearance, or confronting of each other, the process was made, without party, without evidence, and without any other law than the pleasure of the inquisitors. To be rich, was a crime near unto heresy; and he that had anything to lose, was in a way to be undone, either as a heretic, or at least as a favourer of heretics. One single suspicion stopped the mouths of fathers, mothers, and relatives, that they dared not intercede to prevent future punishment; and if any one begged leave to convey a cup of water to them, or a little straw to lie upon in some stinking dungeon, he was adjudged as a criminal, and a favourer of heretics, and often reduced to the same or worse extremity. No advocate durst undertake the defence of his most intimate relative and friend, nor a notary receive any act in his favour. Moreover, when any one was once entangled with the snares of the Inquisition, he could never live with any assurance, for he was always to begin again. If he were released, it was only for a time, till they had better considered of it. Death itself did not put an end to the punishment, since they have left us copies of their sentences against the bones to disinter them, and to burn them, even thirty years after the decease of the person accused. Those who were heirs, had nothing certain; for upon any accusation of their parents or relatives, they durst not take upon them the defence of their right, or possess their inheritance without the crime and suspicion of heresy, that they rather inherited their evil faith than their goods. The people, even the most rich and mighty, were constrained almost to adore those monks inquisitors, and make them large presents for the building of their convents, and endowing their houses, for fear of being accused of heresy, and esteemed not zealous for the faith by those holy fathers. The more to impress persons with the apprehensions of those things, they sometimes made a show and bravado of their prisoners, leading them in triumph in their processions. Some being obliged to whip themselves, others to go covered, after the manner of Benedictines, with certain red cassocks crossed with yellow, to show that they had been convicted of some error, and that for the first fault which they should hereafter commit, they stood already condemned as heretics. Others appeared in their shirts, their feet and heads bare, with a halter about their necks, and a torch in their hands; that being thus equipped, they might strike a terror into the beholders, to see such persons, of all qualities and sexes, reduced to so miserable a condition, being all forbidden to enter into the church, but to stay at the door, or to cast an eye upon the host when shown by the priest, till it was otherwise ordered by the fathers, the inquisitors.



To complete the satisfaction of the said fathers, the party accused was banished for his penance into the Holy Land ; or listed for some other expedition against the Turks or other infidels, levied by order of the Pope, under an obligation to serve the Church for a certain time at his own expense ; during which time, the said holy fathers took possession of the goods of the poor pilgrim ; but he must not inquire whether the said monks had any private familiarity with his wife, during his absence, for fear of being condemned as a person relapsed, impenitent, and altogether unworthy of favour.

Moreover those cruelties were practised ever since the year 1206, the time that Dominic set up his inquisition, to the year 1228 ; by which time there was so great a havoc made of these poor Christians throughout all Europe, that the archbishops of Aix, Arles, and Narbonne, being assembled at Avignon in that year, at the instance of the monks of the inquisition, to confer with the said monks about several difficulties which they met with in the execution of their office, they had compassion of the misery of a great number of the persons accused, and kept prisoners by the said monks inquisitors, saying—<sup>6</sup>

“ It is come to our knowledge that you have apprehended so many of the Waldenses, that it is not only impossible to defray the charges of their subsistence, but also to provide stone and mortar to build prisons for them. We advise you to defer a little such imprisonments, until the pope be advertised of the great numbers that have been apprehended, and till he notify what he pleases to have done in the case. And there is no reason, *vous sçavez*, you should take offence hereat ; for as to those who are altogether impenitent and incorrigible, or concerning whom you doubt of their relapse or escape, or being at liberty, that they would infect others, you may condemn such without delay.”

There needs no other proof than this of the said prelates, to make it appear that the number of those delivered up to death by the inquisition, was very great. For upon the question moved by the said inquisitors, whether those who have kept company with the Waldenses, and have taken the Lord's Supper with them, were excusable, because they pleaded ignorance, not knowing that they were Waldenses, the said prelates answered, that they were not excusable. “ For,” they added, “ who is so great a stranger as not to know, that the Waldenses have been for this long time punished and condemned, and that for these several years past, they have been prosecuted at the pains and charges of Catholics, that prosecution having been sealed by the condemnation of so many persons, so that it cannot be called in question ?”

Now the speech of the said prelates being compared with what George Morel wrote in the year 1530, it would appear to be none of the least miracles of God, that notwithstanding the bloody persecutions ever since Waldo's time, in the year 1160, until the said year 1530, there were, according to the report of the said Morel, at that time, above eight hundred thousand persons who made profession of the religion of the Waldenses.<sup>7</sup> As to the subtleties of the inquisitors, we should have had no knowledge of them, had it not been for those who made their escape out of the inquisition of Spain ; but it was the will of God, that their cunning tricks

<sup>6</sup> Catalogue of the Testimony of the Truth, page 534.

<sup>7</sup> George Morel in his Memorials, p. 54.

should not be so concealed, but that we should have examples of them, even from themselves. Behold then the crafty subtleties and deceit of the inquisitors, which served them for a rule, in drawing up the process against the Waldenses.

“It is not expedient to dispute of matters of faith before the laity.

“No person ought to be counted a penitent, except he accuses those whom he knows to be like himself.

“After that any one hath been delivered up to the secular power, care must be taken that he be not suffered to excuse himself, or to manifest his innocence before the people: for if he be put to death, and he justifies himself, it will be an offence to the laity; and if he should escape, there would be danger of his loyalty.

“Care must be taken not to promise life to one under sentence of death, before the people; for no heretic would suffer himself to be burned if he could escape by such a promise. And if he should promise to repent before the people, and his life should not be granted to him, the people would be offended thereat, and believe that he was wrongfully put to death.

“The inquisitor ought always to presuppose the fact, without any condition, and must only inquire about the circumstances thereof, as thus: How many times hast thou confessed thyself to heretics? In what chamber of thy house have they lain, and such like?

“The inquisitor may look into any book, as if he found written therein the life of the party accused, and all that he inquires of.

“It is necessary to menace the person accused with death, if he doth not confess; telling him that his fact is too apparent, that he ought to think of his soul, and renounce his heresy, for he must die, and undergo with patience what shall happen unto him: and if he answers, since I must die, I had rather die in that faith which I profess, than in that of the church of Rome; then take it for granted, that before he only dissembled in his repentance, and so let him suffer justice.

“We must never think to convince the heretics by literature and the scriptures, forasmuch as learned men are rather confounded by them; and here indeed the heretics fortify themselves, seeing they are able to delude the most learned.

“Moreover, care must be taken, that heretics do answer directly; and when they are pressed with frequent interrogations, they have a custom to declare, that they are simple and illiterate persons, and therefore know not how to answer. But if they see that the assistants are moved with compassion towards them, as if they should do them wrong, counting them to be simple people, and therefore not culpable, then they take courage, and make as if they weeped like poor miserable wretches, and by flattering their judges, endeavour to free themselves from the inquisition; saying, if I have done amiss in anything, I will willingly do penance, only lend me your aid and assistance to rescue me from this disgrace, into which I am fallen by the malice of others, and not by my own fault. But then the courageous inquisitor must never yield to such flatteries, nor give credit to those dissimulations.

“The inquisitor must likewise tell them, that they will gain nothing by false-swearing, because they have enough to convict them of by evidence, and that therefore they must not think by means of their oath to evade the sentence of death: but must promise them, that if they ingenuously confess their fault, they shall find mercy: for there are many

persons in such a perplexity, who confess their error in hopes to escape."

Thus you see the subtleties of the monks inquisitors, which they formerly practised against the Waldenses throughout all Europe. It remains to lay open their practices in each respective kingdom and province, so far as they have come to our knowledge; and we will begin with Dauphiny, since that was the province into which Waldo and his followers retired at their departure from Lyons.

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### CHAPTER III.

*The Churches of the Waldenses in Dauphiny, and the persecutions which they suffered.*

THE Waldensian Churches in Dauphiny have been for these several hundred years dispersed into divers parts of the province. They had churches in Valentia, where there still remain places in which, time out of mind, the faith of the Waldenses hath been transmitted from father to son, in Faux and Bauregard in Valentinois, and la Baulme near Crest. Out of which places there have come to our hand certain processes against persons, who were accused by the inquisitors, as adherents to the faith of the Waldenses, A. D. 1300.

The most celebrated churches of that province are those of the valley of Fraissiniere near Ambrun, Argentiere and Loyse, which for the sake of reproaching the Waldenses was called Val-Pute, as if the said valley had been nothing but a brothel, and the receptacle of all manner of villany and debauchery. This was entirely destroyed. On the other side of the Alps there was a valley called Pragela, which they have inhabited, for a long period, in the dominion and jurisdiction of the Archbishop of Turin, peopled at present by those who are descended from the ancient Waldenses. The inhabitants of the said valley also peopled the Waldensian valleys of Piedmont, Perouse, St. Martin, Angrogne, and others. Those who inhabited in Provence and Calabria also came at first from the said places in Dauphiny and Piedmont. In the said valley of Pragela there are at present six fine churches, every one having its pastor; and every pastor has several villages, which appertain to each of those churches, all filled with the offspring of the ancient Waldenses.

They are churches truly reformed time out of mind; for though there are at this present time in the said valley, old people, and of those not a few, who draw near to, and some who exceed one hundred years; yet those good old men have never heard from their ancestors that mass hath been sung in their time in that country. Although the Archbishops of Turin may have caused it to be said in the said valley, unknown to the inhabitants, yet there is not one among them who hath made profession of any other faith, than the confession which is in the preceding book. All the books before mentioned have been received among the inhabitants of the said valley, which formerly was one of the securest retreats that the Waldenses had in Europe, environed on all sides with mountains almost inaccessible, into whose caverns they used to retire in the time of persecution.

Le Sieur de Vignaux, one of the first pastors who preached among those people, long before the exercise of the reformed religion was free in France, could never sufficiently mention the piety and integrity of those people, whom he found all disposed to receive the dispensation of the word of God, which their fathers had so much cherished, and in which they had instructed their posterity. And it is worthy our observation, though they were blocked up on all sides, and surrounded with the enemies of their faith, and in danger of being apprehended when they went out of their houses, yet no worldly consideration could divert them from their holy resolution, transmitted from father to son, of serving God, by taking his Word for the rule of their faith, and his law for the rule of their obedience. In that design, God hath blessed them above all other Christians of Europe: for their children are no sooner weaned, than their parents take a singular delight to instruct them in the Christian faith and doctrine, till they are able to confound persons dwelling elsewhere, who are well stricken in years, and overwhelmed with ignorance. To that perfection of knowledge do their pastors bring them, who not contented with giving them exhortations upon the sabbath, do also go upon the week days to the villages and hamlets to instruct them.

Nor do they favour and indulge themselves, because of the sharpness of the rocks, the severity of the season, and the incommodiousness of the country, where they are forced to climb high and steep mountains to visit their flocks, and bring unto them the food of their souls, even when the said people in the heat of summer are keeping their cattle upon the top of the rocks: but there do they instruct and exhort them in the open field. There may one see people who hear the Word of God with reverence and attention. There discipline is exercised with success. There the people pray with fervour at their return from their labour, when they betake them to their rest; and in the morning before they enter upon any business, they beg God's direction and assistance in their thoughts, words, and actions, first in their houses, and afterwards in the church; and so go forth to their labour under the protection of the living God, whom they love, honour, and adore. There is to be found more zeal and simplicity, than in other places where riches and luxury abound. Neither are they so ignorant and illiterate, but that they have among them persons who know how to read and express themselves handsomely, and in good terms, especially those who travel with their commodities into the Low Countries. They have also schools, in which they educate and nurture their children, and they want nothing which they esteem necessary, to the advancement of God's glory among them.

The first persecution which is come to our knowledge, is that which was set on foot by a monk inquisitor, of the order of the Friar-minors, named Francis Borelli, being commissioned in the year 1380 to make inquiry into, and give information concerning the sect of the Waldenses in the dioceses of Aix, Arles, Ambrun, Vienne, Geneva, Aubonne, Savoy, the country of Venice, Dyois, Forests, the principality of Orange, the city of Avignon, and Selon: as he was authorized by his bull given him by Pope Clement VII., who then kept his residence at Avignon.<sup>1</sup> By reason of the proximity of his court to the dwellings of the said Waldenses, the Pope thought to rid Dauphiny of all those who counted him Antichrist.

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<sup>1</sup> This bull was taken out of the chamber of the country of Grenoble.

To that purpose he commanded the prelates of Dauphiny, Provence, and other places within the extent of his power and jurisdiction, for there was then a schism and division in Europe, part for Pope Urban VI., residing at Rome, and partly for the said Clement, enjoining them to have so vigilant an eye over their flocks, that not one of the sect of the Waldenses might dwell there.

That monk summoned all the inhabitants of Fraissiniere, l'Argentiere, and Val-Pute, to appear before him at Ambrun, under pain of excommunication. They neither appeared themselves, nor any for them, and were therefore condemned for contumacy, and at length cut off from the Romish Church by a final and most dreadful excommunication. In the space of thirteen years, he delivered by sentence to the secular power, to be burned at Grenoble, of Val-Pute, William Mary of Villar, Peter Long Chastan, John Long Fruchi, Albert Vincens, Johanna the wife of Stephen Vincens, and others, to the number of one hundred and fifty men, several women, and a great many of their children of both sexes.

He delivered also to the secular power in the valley of l'Argentiere and Fraissiniere, Astune, Berarde, Agnessonne the wife of John Bresson, Barthelmie the wife of John Porte, and others of both sexes, to the number of eighty, all of whom were condemned; and when any one of them was apprehended, he was immediately carried to Grenoble, and there, without any other form of law and process, instantly burned alive.

This last sentence was pronounced in the cathedral of Ambrun, in the year 1393, to the great profit and advantage of the monks inquisitors, who adjudged one moiety of the goods of the said persons condemned to themselves, and the rest to the temporal lords. Then they forbade all their neighbours to aid or assist them in any way whatsoever; to receive, visit, or defend them; to give them any sustenance, or to have any manner of communication or dealing with them; or to afford them any counsel or favour, under the pain of being attainted and convicted for favourers of heretics. They declared them unworthy of all places and public offices, prohibiting others to make use of their evidence, judging them unfit to bear witness, or to succeed in an inheritance. And if they were judges, that their sentences should be null and ineffectual, and that no causes should be tried before them—if advocates, that their defence and pleas should not be taken—if notaries, that their instruments should be void, cancelled and defaced—if priests, that they should be deprived of all offices and benefices; interdicting all ecclesiastical persons to administer the sacraments to them, or to afford them burial, or to receive any alms or oblations of them, under pain of deposition from their functions, and deprivation of their benefices.

That monk reserved to himself, by the said sentence, the review and examination of the process of a dozen whom he particularized therein, whom he would fain have escape through the Golden Gate, or by bribery. For in the processes which have come to our hands, we find several complaining that they would never have been entangled with the snares of the Inquisition, had it not been for their wealth; it being evident that they had never been acquainted with the religion of the Waldenses.

As to the Waldenses of the valley of Pragela, they were assaulted by their enemies, on the side of Susa, a town in Piedmont, about the year 1400; and forasmuch as they had often attempted them in vain, it being at a season when they could make their retreat to the high mountains, and caves thereof, where they might do much mischief and damage to

those who should come there to attack them ; their enemies set upon the Waldenses about Christmas, at a time when those poor people never dreamed that any would have dared to pass the mountains covered with snow. Seeing their caves possessed by their enemies, they betook themselves to one of the highest mountains of the Alps, called l'Albergam, or a mountain of retreat, flocking thither with their wives and children ; the mothers carrying the cradles, and leading their little children by the hand, who were able to go. The enemy pursued them till night, and slew a great number of them before they could reach the mountain. Those who were then put to death, had the better portion ; for night having surprised that poor people, who were in the snow, destitute of any means of kindling a fire to warm their little children, the greatest part of them were benumbed with cold. In the morning they found four score little children dead in their cradles ; and the greatest part of their mothers died after them. The enemies retiring in the night to the houses of the said poor people, plundered and pillaged all that they could convey away with them to Susa ; and to complete their cruelty, they hung upon a tree a Waldensian woman, whom they met upon the mountain of Meane, named Margaret Athode.<sup>2</sup>

The inhabitants of that valley look upon this persecution to be the most violent, that in their time, or in the time of their forefathers, they had ever suffered. They speak of it to this day, as if the thing were but lately transacted, and fresh in their memory ; so often have they from generation to generation made mention of that sudden surprise, which was the occasion of so many miseries amongst them.

In the meantime the Waldenses of the valley of Fraissiniere, who escaped the former persecution, were again cruelly handled by John, archbishop of Ambrun, their neighbour, in the year 1460 ; in the time of Pope Pius II. and Louis XI., King of France.

That archbishop gave commission to a monk of the order of the Friar Minors, named John Veyleti, to prosecute the said Waldenses ; who proceeded therein with such diligence and violence, that there were hardly any persons in the valleys of Fraissiniere, l'Argentiere, and Loyse, who could escape the seizure of that inquisitor ; but they were apprehended either as heretics, or else as favourers of them. Those therefore, who were unacquainted with the faith of the Waldenses, had recourse to King Louis XI., beseeching him, by his authority, to put a stop to the course of such persecutions. The king granted them his letters, and by them the design of the inquisitors may easily be discovered, who involved several Romanists in their process, under colour of the inquisition against the Waldenses.

#### *Letter of King Louis XI.*

Louis, by the grace of God, King of France, Dauphin de Viennois, Count de Valentinois and Dioys, to our well-beloved and faithful governor of Dauphiny. Health and dilection.

“ Touching the inhabitants of the valleys of Loyse, Fraissiniere, l'Argentiere, and others belonging to our country of Dauphiny, we have been certainly informed,—That notwithstanding they have, and will still live,

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6 •      <sup>2</sup> Vignaux Memorials, fol. 6.

as becomes good Christians, without holding, believing or maintaining any superstitious tenet, but only such as is agreeable to the ordinance and discipline of the Church—nevertheless, certain religious mendicants styling themselves Inquisitors of the Faith, and others, thinking by vexations and persecution to force and extort their goods from them, and by other ways to molest them in their persons, have been, and still are desirous, falsely to lay to their charge, that they hold and believe certain heresie and superstitions contrary to the Catholic faith; and under that colour and pretence, do trouble and annoy them with process upon process, both in our court of parliament of Dauphiny, and several other countries of our dominions.

“And for the confiscation of the goods of those whom they charge with the said crimes, several of the judges, and even of the inquisitors of the faith, who for the most part are religious mendicants, under the colour of the office of inquisitors, have and daily do continue to send out process against several poor people, without any just or reasonable cause; have put some upon the rack, called them to question, without any preceding information, and have condemned them for crimes which they were not guilty of, as hath been afterwards found out; and of others they have taken and exacted great sums of money to set them at liberty, and molested and troubled them by divers unjust and illegal means, to the prejudice and damage not only of the said supplicants, but also of us, and the whole republic of our country of Dauphiny.

“Wherefore, we being willing to provide against this mischief, and not to suffer our people to be troubled by such unjust and illegal methods; especially the inhabitants of the said places affirming, that they always have, and will still continue to live, as becomes good Christians, and professors of the Catholic religion, without holding or believing any other faith than what is allowed by the Church; neither have maintained, or will maintain or believe anything contrary thereto; and that it is unreasonable, that any person should be condemned for the crime of heresy, except those who stubbornly, obstinately and contumaciously maintain and affirm things contrary to the sincerity of our faith; have with great and mature deliberation, and to put a stop to such frauds and abuses, unjust vexations, and illegal extortions, granted to the said supplicants, and do grant, and with our certain knowledge and special consent, full power and authority, royal and delphinal, we have willed and ordained, and do will and ordain by these presents, that the said supplicants, and others of our country of Dauphiny, be freed from the court and suits, and whatsoever suit any of them shall have commenced against them for the causes above-mentioned; we have of our certain knowledge, full power and authority, royal and delphinal, abolished and do abolish, made void and do make void by these presents. And our will and pleasure is, that from the beginning of the world to this day, there be nothing exacted of them, or injury offered to them in their body, goods, or good name. Except, nevertheless, there be any who obstinately, stubbornly, and contumaciously will hold and affirm any points contrary to the holy Catholic faith.

“Moreover, we have willed and ordained, and do will and ordain, that the goods of the said inhabitants our supplicants, and others of our country of Dauphiny, which, for the cause above-mentioned, have been taken and exacted of any person, in what manner soever, by execution or otherwise, by the order and demand of our court of parliament of Dauphiny, or any other whatsoever; as likewise all bonds and obligations, that they have

given for the causes above-mentioned, whether it be for payment of fees and expenses for the said persecution, or otherwise, shall be again restored unto them ; unto which restitution all such shall be compelled to submit, who have in anything, either by sale or spoil of their goods, moveables or unmoveables, by detention or imprisonment of their persons, any ways wronged them, until they have fully restored their goods and things above-mentioned, and obeyed our commands ; otherwise to be forced and compelled by all just and reasonable methods requisite in such a case ; notwithstanding all appeals whatsoever, which our will is, should be absolutely suspended.

“ Because that by reason of those confiscations, which have been formerly pretended, of the goods of those whom they have accused and prosecuted in this case, several, rather out of covetousness, and a desire of possessing the said confiscations, or part of them, than out of justice, do and have sued and prosecuted several people ; and to further and procure the said confiscations, have made use of many unjust and illegal means ; we have declared, and do declare by these presents, that we will not from henceforward have any confiscations taken, levied or exacted, for the said cause, for us, or by our officers ; and all our right and claim we have quitted and remitted to the children, and other heirs and successors of those from whom such confiscations shall be exacted. Moreover, to prevent the frauds and abuses offered by the said Inquisitors of the Faith, we have forbidden, and do forbid any person to suffer or permit the said inquisitors to proceed from this time forward, against the said inhabitants of our country of Dauphiny, or to hold them in suit for the above-mentioned, or the like causes, without our express letters concerning that matter. We have further forbidden, and do forbid, any of our judges and officers of our subjects, for the above-mentioned, or the like causes, to take upon them any jurisdiction or cognizance, but that they refer all causes and suits relating to the said business to us, and those of our great council, to whom, and to no other, we have reserved, and do reserve the examination and determination. We therefore expressly command and enjoin you, duly and punctually to put our said letters in execution, according to their form above-mentioned, and not otherwise, as in such case is requisite. For it is our will and pleasure that it should be done : And to that end we give you full power and authority, commission and special commandment. We charge and command all our justices, officers and subjects, commissioners and deputies, that they give their assistance for the due obedience thereunto. Given at Arras, May 18, Anno 1478.”

The Archbishop of Ambrun ceased not to proceed further against the persons accused, but was much more animated than before ; grounding his procedure upon that clause of the said letters : “ Except there be found any among them who rebelliously, contumaciously, and obstinately harden themselves in their opinions.” Therefore he pretended, that he did nothing in contradiction to the said letters, since those who had received them did not appear in judgment to justify themselves, making it manifest that they were neither obstinate, rebellious, nor contumacious. Moreover, the said archbishop extorted from part of the inhabitants of Fraissiniere, l'Argentiere, and Val Loyse, a renunciation or denial of the requests presented to the King, declaring that no persons in Dauphiny were less free from heresy, than those who were the readiest to clear themselves before the King ; and caused a second information to be made. We have observed in that



information that the witnesses produced were for the most part priests, or officers belonging to the said archbishop, William Chabassol, Canon of Ambrun ; Francis Magnici, priest of the Valley of Loyse ; Rostain Payan, curate of St. Marcelin ; Anthony Garneri, priest ; Aimar Raimondi, chaplain ; Michael Pierre, curate of Fraissiniere ; all which deposed that those who had recourse to King Louis XI., were Waldenses. Thus the archbishop being fortified and encouraged by their recantation, and those witnesses, and the assertion of John Pelegrin, who was corrupted by money to charge and accuse the Waldenses of the ancient calumnies, which were formerly imposed upon the primitive Christians, that they met together in private and obscure places, and there, after the candles were put out, to commit sin, he sent to the court to vindicate and justify himself against the informations given to the King, that he prosecuted the Waldenses rather for the sake of their goods, than out of zeal for the Catholic Faith. But that single witness prevailed but little against several others who would never depose against their consciences, that they had seen among the Waldenses, anything which did bear the appearance of that villany with which the false witness had charged them. Nevertheless the archbishop did not desist from annoying and disturbing the said persons accused, to the utmost of his power ; so that the greatest part of them that were unable to defray the charge, betook themselves to flight, there being not any amongst those that were persecuted, except James Palineri, who protested against the unjust trouble and molestation given them, to the prejudice of the letters obtained of his majesty, and demanded a copy of their proceedings, that he might right himself by law. The archbishop let him alone, prosecuting those who had not the courage to oppose his violent practices. But the consuls of Frassiniere, Michael Ruffi, and John Giraud, having been summoned to appear before the archbishop, to answer both in their own name, and the inhabitants of their valley ; after they had made answer, that they had nothing to say before the archbishop, because their cause was depending before the King and council, which they then openly averred, and demanded a copy of it ; being pressed to answer notwithstanding all their protestations and averment to the contrary, Michael Ruffi nodding his head, answered in his own language, *Veici ragis* ; and being pressed a second time, he said, *Veici una bella Raison*. The archbishop being enraged against the said consuls for such a contempt, sent them to the fire without any other form or process. But the archbishop himself did not long survive them, for he died with an evident mark of Divine justice, soon after their execution. Thus ended the persecution in the year 1487.

We may observe a remarkable piece of villany in the process formed by this monk Veiliti. Having the said process in our hands, we discovered little bills, wherein the said commissioner used to take the answers of the persons accused, simply and nakedly, as they came out of their mouths, but we found them afterwards stretched and extended in the process, altogether contrary to what they were in the *sumptum*, as they called it, altering therein the intention of the said person, making him to say that of which he never thought.

Inquire, whether he believed, that after the words of consecration were pronounced by the priest in the Mass, the body of Christ was present in the Host in as gross and extensive a manner as it was upon the Cross ? if the Waldenses shall answer, no, Veiliti, or his clerk, he dictating it, set down the answer thus : " he confessed he believed not in God." In-

quire whether we ought not to pray to the saints? if he answer, no, they set down, "he reviled and spake evil of the saints." Inquire whether we ought to reverence the Virgin Mary, and pray unto her in our necessities? if he answer no, they write, "that he spake blasphemy against the Virgin Mary." Thus you may see the fidelity of the inquisitors in so weighty and important an action. It could not be without the great Providence of God, that the history of such villanies should be preserved till now, that men might see by what spirit they were actuated and inspired, who cut the throats of, and burnt the faithful members of the church, after they had loaded them with impostures; demanding of us notwithstanding, where these faithful members of the church were, whom they had massacred before our time.

If the reader desires to know how the process and indictments fell into our hands; here he will again see the great Providence of God, in causing the very same persons, who were the authors and actors of those cruelties and villanies, to keep the said papers and process in their libraries, and other places wherein their records are laid up; the archbishops of Ambrun themselves, John and Rostain, and others, until the city was recovered out of the hands of the rebels in the year 1585. Then all the said process and proceedings, attempted and contrived for many hundred years together against the Waldenses, were flung out into the street, because the archbishop's palace was set on fire by the enemies themselves, with a design to defend a tower called *Tour Brune*, whither they were retired, and to cut off a wooden gallery, by which the archbishop had passage to the tower. The Sieur de Calignon, chancellor of Navarre, and the Sieur de Vulcon, chancellor to the King, in the Parliament at Grenoble, being there, they caused the papers, containing the process, framed long ago against the Waldenses, to be gathered together; whence we have collected that which relates to the cruelties and lewd behaviour of the said monks inquisitors, and their adherents; as likewise that which followeth concerning the Waldenses in Dauphiny, and the persecutions carried on by the commissaries of the archbishops of Turin, against the Waldensian churches of Pragela.

The method of harassing the Waldenses by war was never known till that time; but Albert de Capitaneis, Archdeacon of Cremona, sent against them by Pope Innocent VIII., began to desire the aid and assistance of the King's Lieutenant in Dauphiny, called *Hugues de la Paln*, who for this service levied troops, and marched to those places where the said Albert told him any of the Waldenses were, in the valley of Loyse. That the business might seem to be undertaken according to justice and equity, and to give the better authority to their proceedings, the Lieutenant of the King took along with him a Counsellor of the Court, named John Rabot. Upon their arrival at the said valley of Loyse, they could meet with none of the inhabitants, for they had all fled into their caverns on the top of the mountains, having carried thither with them their little children, and whatsoever they accounted most precious, and fit for their sustenance and nourishment. This Lieutenant of the King caused a great quantity of wood to be placed at the entrance of their caves, and to be set on fire, so that either the smoke by suffocating, or the fire by burning them, constrained a great number to throw themselves headlong from their caverns upon the rocks below, where they ended their lives, being dashed in pieces. If there were any one amongst them who dared to stir, he was immediately slain by the soldiers of Paln. That perse-

cution was very severe: for there were found within the said caverns four hundred little children, suffocated in their cradles, or in the arms of their dead mothers. Among the Waldenses dwelling in the adjacent valleys, above three thousand persons, men and women, belonging to the said valley, then perished. To say the truth, they were wholly exterminated; so that thenceforward that valley was peopled with new inhabitants, and there was no family of the said Waldenses that ever after took footing there; which proves beyond dispute, that all the inhabitants thereof, of both sexes, died at that time. That Lieutenant of the King having destroyed the inhabitants of the valley of Loyse, fearing lest the Waldenses in the neighbouring country should settle there again, and that they might not hereafter be put to a second trouble to expel them, he gave the goods and possessions of the valley to whom he pleased; which were not so soon divided, but that the Waldenses of Pragela and Fraissiniere had made provision for their safety, expecting the enemy at the passage and narrow straits of their valleys; so that when the Lieutenant of the King came to invade them, he was obliged to retreat. Albert de Capitaneis's commission calling him elsewhere, he substituted a Franciscan monk, named Ploieri, who began to exhibit fresh informations against the Waldenses of Fraissiniere, in the year 1489. He cited them to appear before him at Ambrun, and for not appearing, he excommunicated and anathematized them, and at last condemned them, as contumacious heretics and backsliders, to be delivered to the secular power, and their goods to be confiscated. At this judgment assisted a counsellor named Ponce, in the behalf of the Parliament of Dauphiny, to the end that this mixed judgment might admit of no appeal. The sentence was pronounced at the great church at Ambrun, afterwards fixed upon the door of the said church upon a large pannel, in the lower part of which were thirty-two articles of the faith of the said Waldenses, against the Mass, Purgatory, the Invocation of Saints, Pilgrimages, the Observations of Feasts, distinction of meats upon certain days, and other points maintained by the Waldenses.

The informations on which their sentence was grounded having come to our hands, this imposture hath been detected to their own condemnation. We find not any witness to these allegations: but, on the contrary, though the chief of those that were heard, were priests or monks, on being asked by the monk, whether they knew the contents of the aforesaid articles to be true; they answered, that they never knew any such doctrines either taught or practised amongst the Waldenses.

In the same parcel of writings, containing the process against the Waldenses, we find one drawn up against Francis Gerondine and Peter James, two *barbs*, or pastors, who were taken, "*sur le col de coste plane;*" *about the hill in the side of the plain*, in 1492. Being asked the reason why the sect of the Waldenses multiplied and increased so fast, and for a long time together had spread itself into so many places, this monk wrote down the answer of Gerondine after this manner: "That the dissolute and debauched lives of the priests was the cause of it; and because the cardinals were covetous, proud, and luxurious, it being manifest to all, that there was neither pope, cardinal, nor bishop, who kept not their concubines, and few or none who were not guilty of unnatural crimes; and therefore it was an easy matter for the pastors of the Waldenses to persuade the people, that the religion of such scandalous persons could never be good, since the fruits of it were so bad." And imme-

diately after, the said pastor being asked what their doctrine was concerning lechery, they made him to answer, that lechery was no sin; as if it were a thing possible for the pastors to draw the people off from the Church of Rome, by condemning the lechery of the priests, if they themselves should teach that lechery was no sin. All this was thus set down and subscribed, not only according to what was dictated and ordered by the said monk, but approved of, and signed by the Counsellor Ponce, and Oronce, Judge of Briançon. Wherein appears the clandestine conspiracy and unjust confederacy of the said Inquisitors, in that they were not satisfied with persecuting them by open violence, but likewise loaded them with calumnies, making the pastors to answer so unsuitably and childishly, touching those matters in which, as appears in their Exposition on the Seventh Commandment, the pastors were thoroughly informed by the Holy Scriptures; and in which Exposition they leave nothing unsaid of all that which the Word of God teacheth us against luxury and incontinency.

That persecution was extremely severe; for the Waldenses being condemned as heretics by the Inquisitor, Ponce the Counsellor, and Oronce the Judge hurried them to the fire, without suffering their appeal. That which increased the number of the persecuted was, that whosoever did any ways intercede for them, though it were the child for the father, or the father for the child, he was presently committed to prison, and his indictment drawn up as a favourer of heretics.

In the year 1494, Anthony Fabri, doctor and canon of Ambrun, and Christopher de Salliens, canon, vicar, and official of the Bishop of Valence, received a commission from the Pope to commence suit against the Waldenses in Dauphiny, otherwise called Chagnards. Fabri, the Inquisitor, and Gobandi, notary of Ambrun, and secretary to the said Inquisitors, carried to Ambrun an indictment framed against Peironnette of Beauregard, in Valentinois, the widow of Peter Berand; whom we do not mention for her constancy, but because in her answers she delivered many things which make some addition to this history.

Being demanded whether she had seen or heard of any of the pastors of the Waldenses, she at first replied that she had not, being resolved to answer negatively to all interrogations. The Inquisitors ordered, because she had not satisfied their demands, that she should be committed to the Bishop of Valence's prison; where being menaced to be further pressed with the question, she confessed that about twenty-five years before, two men clothed in grey came to her husband's house, and after supper one of them asked her,—"*N'avez vous jamais oui parler d'un plen pung de monde, que si non era tot lo monde seria a fin,*"—Whether she had heard of a handful of people that are in the world, without which the world must soon be at an end?—and she answered, "that she had never heard of such, but from one Monsieur Andre, minister of Beauregard, who frequently told her, that there was a small number of people in the world, without whom the world must perish. He then told her, that he was now come thither on purpose to confer with her, about that little flock, and to give her to know that they were the men who had by God's commandments learned how to serve him; and that they travelled about the world on purpose to instruct men how they ought to worship and honour him; and to correct and reform the abuses of the Church of Rome. Among other things, he told her that we ought not to do anything to another which we would not have done to ourselves—That we are to

worship one God only, who is alone able to help us, and not the saints departed—That we ought not to swear—That we are to be faithful to our matrimonial engagement, and to sanctify and keep holy the Sabbath day ; but there was no need of observing other feasts—That ecclesiastical persons were too rich and wealthy, which was the cause why they lead such scandalous lives ; and that he said of the Pope, in his language: *Autant crois, et autant maluais es lo Popa coma neugun autre, et perco non ages de poissansa* ; That the Pope is as bad or worse than any other, and therefore he hath no authority. That he taught that there was no Purgatory ; but only Heaven for the good, and Hell for the wicked ; and that, therefore, all trentals and suffrages said by the priest for the souls of the deceased, or their processions in the church-yards, singing *kirieleison*, avail nothing : also, that it was better to give to the poor than to offer to the priests ; and that it was an idle and superstitious thing to bow the knee before the images of saints."

She was remanded back to prison, and the next morning sent for again. But persisting in what she had said before, she added, that the said pastors had told her, "that the priests who took money for the masses they sing, were like Judas, who sold their master for silver ; and that they who gave money for their masses, were like the Jews, who bought Christ with money."

Those Inquisitors discharged Peironnette, until they were otherwise advised, having first obtained from her whatsoever she knew of the assemblies of the Waldenses, of those persons that frequented them, of the places and times of their meetings, which afterwards occasioned great trouble to the said Waldensian Churches, and much profit and advantage to the Inquisitors.

In the year of our Lord, 1497, Rostain, the Archbishop of Ambrun, would know at his arrival how matters had been carried on till that time against the Waldenses of his diocese ; and finding that the inhabitants of the valley of Fraissiniere had been excommunicated by the Inquisitors, who had then framed their indictments, and that they had delivered them into the hands of the secular power, nothing but their flight obstructing the execution of the sentences pronounced against them ; he would not enter into the said valley, though earnestly entreated by one Fazion Gay, an inhabitant of the said valley, saying, "that they had been condemned *Autoritate Pontificis Romani*, and therefore he might begin his journey to them *inconsulto Pontifice* : but when the pope *laxabit mihi manus*, shall loose my hand, and their absolution shall manifestly and clearly appear to me, I will visit them." Fazion Gay, speaking in behalf of the said inhabitants, who made profession of living as becomes good Catholics, says, they answered, "that the King had freed them from such punishments, provided that they behaved themselves like good Catholics for the future."

The archbishop replied, "that he would do nothing till he had sent to the pope ; and that he had for that purpose deputed friar John Columbi, a master in divinity, and that he would write to the pope and cardinals, and send them a verbal report of what had been transacted against them, and desire their advice, how to demean himself in this affair." Hereupon, Charles VIII., king of France, having departed this life, he took his journey to the coronation of King Louis XII., in the year 1498, which coming to the knowledge of the said inhabitants of Fraissiniere, and knowing too well that they had no reason to expect that anything in their favour would come from Rome, and that the archbishop would be easily

persuaded to enjoy those goods that his predecessors had confiscated, and that he would be unwilling to restore those goods which they had annexed to his archbishopric, they concluded among themselves to send to King Louis XII., and to become humble supplicants to him, that he would be pleased to take some course for the restitution of their goods, which the archbishop, the monks inquisitors, and others, detained from them. The King referred this business to his chancellor and council. The chancellor making mention thereof to the archbishop, he replied, that the restitution which they required did not concern himself, because the said goods were confiscated by the inquisitors, long before he became archbishop of Ambrun: but the president of Grenoble, and the chancellor Rabot, were then at Paris, who were able to answer to the article, they being the men that had condemned them.

The Waldenses, on the other hand were very urgent that the archbishop might particularly be enjoined to make restitution of the goods, because several parcels thereof were added to the archbishop's domain; and whensoever they required them, he sent to the pope, to the prejudice of the order and decree of the late king.

The grand council having taken cognizance of this business, commanded that no innovations should be made in that which related to the Waldenses of Fraissiniere, the king having written to the pope, that apostolical commissaries might be appointed, with the archbishop as ordinary, to conclude this business for that time.

In order to the prosecution of the said ordinance, there were nominated for apostolical commissioners, a confessor of the king's, and the official of Orleans, who arrived at Ambrun upon July 4, 1501.

The reader may judge of the archbishop from those memorials left by himself, and which we have here transcribed verbatim.

"The gentlemen, (saith he) the confessor, and the official of Orleans, being come to Ambrun, dispatched to me a packet by the post, to bring me the letters missive of the king; to which, upon my receipt of them, I paid my obedience, and sent to desire they would lodge with me, as Monsieur the confessor had promised to do at Lyons. I immediately sent some of my people to offer them a lodging, and presented them my wine. To whom they returned this answer, that I should no more send anything, that they might not be suspected by the inhabitants of Fraissiniere, and that for that reason they would not accept of my lodging. After dinner I went to their lodging, in company with the abbot of Boscaudon, with some of my canons and other officers. I again offered my lodgings to the said commissioners, showing them honour and reverence, as to apostolical and royal commissioners, out of respect to their office and persons. Then the said commissioners presented to me the said apostolical and royal commissions, requiring me, as being joined in the same commissions, and as Ordinary, to observe the same. The commissions being seen and read, I presently offered to lend them all the aid and assistance that possibly I could, and that on my part there should be nothing wanting towards the full and complete accomplishment of the said commission, offering unto them all the processes and indictments that I had, as they demanded them; notwithstanding a great part of the said processes remained in the grand council, ever since the time that Adam Fumée, the chancellor, caused my predecessor and his secretary to be arrested at Lyons, until the said Adam Fumée had the original of the process delivered to him; not suffering the said secretary to detain any writing, as the said secretary, *medio juramento*, in their presence deposed. Afterwards, the confessor began to blame-

those commissioners who had been formerly employed therein, notwithstanding that I had before offered to deliver the said process, he did charge and admonish, "*semel, bis, ter, sub pena excommunicationis lata sententia, trina et canonica monitione precedente*—once, twice, three times, under the penalty of excommunication, the third canonical notice having preceded;" that I should produce immediately all the indictments which I had concerning this matter: for that he was to spend but a few days in the affair, being to return to court against the feast in August, to the King, who expected him as his confessor. When I saw that he acted contrary to all form of law, and that he intended to proceed against the episcopal dignity and authority, rather by suspensions than excommunications; and that I was a judge as well as they, and which is more, the Ordinary, I required the copy of their commissions, according to the forms of law. Then the confessor replied, that he had not long since made use of the same censures and commands towards the masters of the parliament of Grenoble, and that consequently he might use it towards myself.

"He also replied unto me, you petty clerks know nothing but two C. C., *codice et capitulo*, and two F., *digestis*, and will take upon you to put down and suppress theology; and that he heard the king say with his own mouth, that the archbishop of Ambrun would withstand his commission, and openly accuse the Waldenses. To whom I answered, that he must pardon me, for I did not believe but that the king had a better opinion of me, because I had never employed my labour in this matter but to a good end, as I always intended and designed to do. Then the confessor proceeding in his discourse, spake these words: '*Vos ad me in modum Scribarum, et Pharisaorum Christum accusantium, ad Pilatum accessistis, cum tantis viris ecclesiasticis ad terrendum me: sed nihil teneo sub vobis, aut dominio vestro, et de nihilo vos timeo.*' That is:—You are come to me, as the Scribes and Pharisees when they accused Christ before Pilate, and with such a numerous company of ecclesiastical persons to terrify me, but you have no authority to command me, and I do not at all fear you.' To which I replied, that I brought no more with me than those who used to bear me company when I walked through the city. Suddenly he ordered the laity to quit the chamber, then revoked the sentences which he had thundered out against me, contrary to all law and equity; saying, that it was necessary to make use of those rigorous terms before the lay people, and especially there being some of the Waldenses present. This was the kind of deportment of the confessor; and thus were the matters above-mentioned, as more fully and largely appears by a public instrument."

Thus you have part of the notes of Archbishop Rostain, wherein we find several falsehoods. He wrote in great trouble, that the said commissioners did not hear above three or four witnesses; but we find in the bundle of memoirs belonging to Archbishop Rostain, a copy of informations, in which there were twenty-four witnesses heard and examined.

He said, that they put no other questions to them but whether they were good Catholics or no; to which, being well instructed, they answered yes, and the commissioners were satisfied with that answer. Yet, it appears, that they asked them several questions concerning the eucharist, purgatory, invocation of saints, and divers other points.

Again, he declares, that the witnesses were timorous and dare not speak; and yet it is very apparent that the generality of the witnesses produced were priests and monks of the archbishop's faction, and brought by himself.

- Again, that they suffered nothing to be written down; whereas it ap-

pears, that there are no indictments where there is more written, than in those drawn up by the said commissioners.

But that which most grieved the archbishop was, that the said commissioners cleared and absolved them from contumacy, *sine præjudicio causæ principalis, et juris cuicunque acquisiti*; without prejudice to the principal cause, and to the right acquired by any one; against which the archbishop protested, and would not give his consent to sign the said sentence, complaining that the official of Orleans had manifestly discovered, by his proceedings, that he favoured the said Waldenses, especially having openly acknowledged, at his lodgings at the inn at Ambrun, that he wished he were as good a Christian as the worst person of the Fraissiniere.

But the greatest hurt and detriment fell upon himself, for he saw that he must of necessity restore several vineyards belonging to the said Waldenses, situated at Clements, at Crispin, at Chanteloube, and several estates at Chateau Roux, which John his predecessor had annexed to the domain of his archbishopric.

The king's confessor having reported to the king and his council, what he knew concerning the Waldenses, and that they were cleared and absolved of their contumacy, commanded that the goods of the said Waldenses should be restored: upon which King Louis XII. granted the following letters.

*Louis by the grace of God, King of France, &c.*

"Forasmuch as it is come to our knowledge, that the inhabitants of Fraissiniere have undergone great troubles and afflictions, punishments and molestations; we desiring to relieve them, and that restitution should be made of their goods, moveables and immoveables, do by these presents command and enjoin all those who do keep and detain the said goods, that immediately, and without delay, they desist and quit claim to the said goods, and make restitution of them to the said petitioners, or their procurators in their stead, every one in his place and order. And in case of opposition, refusal, or delay, we, out of regard to their poverty and misery, which they have a long time, and still do suffer and undergo, without being able to obtain justice; desiring with all our heart that it may be administered unto them; our will and pleasure is to take cognizance thereof in our own proper person, summoning all those who shall oppose or retard the execution of these presents, to appear before us at a certain convenient day.

"Given at Lyons, October 12, 1501."

Those mandatory letters being put in execution, it was the opinion of most men, since the best and the greatest part of the goods of the Waldenses were in the possession of the Archbishop; that it was highly reasonable that he should set the example unto others, especially since that which some of them possessed, was given unto them as a salary or fee, for their pains and services, by Archbishop John his predecessor.

The Archbishop Rostain answered, that he held none of the goods of the Fraissinieres—only certain goods, for good and just reasons, had been annexed to his archbishopric, and incorporated into his church by his predecessor, the said goods being within the territories and jurisdiction thereof, in which no commandment of the king ever used to be executed. Therefore, said he, it is not to be believed, that it proceedeth from the will and pleasure of the king, being the protector and defender of the Church, and following the example of his great and noble predecessors.



But yet, nevertheless, the archbishop being willing to please the lord our king, will be content to restore unto the inhabitants of Fraissiniere the vineyards, upon condition that other lords of Dauphiny will deliver that which they possess of the said goods.

Thus the people were frustrated in their design ; for there was not one who would restore anything of that of which he had got possession. Therefore they summoned before the king and council, the archbishop, Monsieur Pons, Counsellor of the Parliament at Grenoble ; Peter de Rames, Lord of Poit ; Faix de Rames, Master of Montainard and of Argentièrre ; Arrouars de Bonne ; and several other attorneys, priests, and burghesses of Ambrun and Briancon. These sent to the court, and having more friends and credit there than the inhabitants of Fraissiniere, their excuse was received, wherein they declared, that it was not in their power to restore the said goods, before the pope had absolved them.

The archbishop protested that, for his part, he was ready to restore all that his predecessors had annexed to his church, provided that they had the aforesaid absolution. This occasioned such as were less affected and constant to try this way, and to send to Pope Alexander VI. They were advised not to go to Rome, but to fetch a writ of absolution from the Cardinal Legate in France, George, entitled *Saint Christ* ; which would suffice, and might be obtained with less expense ; for the obtaining whereof, they made use of the commissary the king's confessor. They sent, therefore, Stephen Roux, who brought two bulls, one by which he gave absolution for simony, theft, murder, usury, adultery, detention of benefices, destruction of ecclesiastical goods, violence against clerks by beating them, unlawful oaths, perjury, frauds, apostacy and heresy ; and whosoever had committed any crime, were it never so heinous, the cardinal absolved them from all by his apostolical authority.

And lest the archbishop should pretend the said bull could not absolve the people of Fraissiniere, having been condemned by the said apostolical authority, by commissioners and inquisitors deputed by the pope ; and that his mouth might be stopped, he brought another bull, in which there was especially this clause : " Having power from the pope to decide or determine any matter, that any other who hath been deputed by the holy see, or substituted, can do, even where there hath been an appeal, absolving all that have in any manner been condemned."

The man thought he had made a good progress in this business ; but Archbishop Rostain made a jest of his bulls, saying, that they were obtained at too dear a rate, and with importunity, and that he must have an absolution from the pope himself ; and so resolved in short to restore nothing. All the rest followed his example ; and although they had been absolved by the pope himself, yet no restitution would have been made ; for he knew well enough that, in those days, all things were sold at Rome, as those Latin verses which were written against Pope Alexander VI. testify.

*Vendit Alexander cruce, altaria, Christum,  
Nescit ille, prius vendere jure potest.*

Pope Alexander sold altars, Christ, and his cross,  
Before he could sell, he had bought them of course !

*Templa, sacerdotes, altaria, sacra, coronæ,  
Læus, thura, preces, cælum est venale, Drusque.*

Temples and priests, altars and crowns, they sell for pelf,  
Fire, frankincense, prayers, heaven, and God himself !

Which is to be understood of the BREADEN GOD in the mass.

The archbishop, therefore, was the cause why others still detained those goods in their possession, without any restitution; and although some particular persons were afterwards called to an account, *Le Sieur de Montainer*, *De Rames*, and others, yet they could never obtain any remedy.

In the year 1560, the Waldenses of *Fraissiniere* and *Pragela* had their churches supplied with pastors, who kept them up to the exercise of their religion, at the time when all the professors of the Reformation were persecuted unto death. The President *Truccion* made a speech to the states of *Provence*, assembled the same year, on November 6, pressing them to exterminate the Waldenses of *Fraissiniere* and *Pragela*, saying, that it was expedient to purge the old heretical leaven, which would otherwise infect and sour the whole country of *Dauphiny*, if some course were not taken to prevent it. It was resolved thereupon by those states to extirpate them by open force, and to this end, commissions were given out to levy troops, and march into the said valleys: but so soon as the drum was beaten up, and the men were under arms throughout *Provence*, the unexpected death of *King Francis II.* gave a new turn to the design; and the said Waldensian Churches in *Dauphiny* continued in the same posture, by the singular favour of God.

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## CHAPTER IV.

The Waldensian Churches in *Piedmont*, and the persecutions which they endured.

THE Waldenses had famous churches in the valleys of *Piedmont*, *Angrogne*, *La Perouse*, the valley *St. Martin*, *Lucerne*, and other neighbouring places, time out of mind. It is held for certain among them, that they descended from the Waldenses of *Dauphiny*, *Pragela*, *Fraissiniere*, and other neighbouring places; and that in process of time, being so vastly multiplied and increased, that the country could not supply them with provisions, they were constrained to disperse themselves far and wide, where they could best settle themselves. And so dearly have they loved one another, like brethren, that notwithstanding they have been oppressed with continual troubles, yet they have ever relieved one another, with a most hearty love and charity, not sparing their lives and goods for their mutual conservation.

The first troubles that the Waldenses of *Piedmont* endured, were occasioned by the report of certain priests, sent thither by the Archbishop of *Turin*, who gave in information, that the people committed to their charge did not live according to the manners and faith of the Church of *Rome*, neither making any offerings for the dead, nor caring for masses or absolutions, or to redeem any of their relations out of the pains of purgatory, by any of the usual ways and methods.<sup>1</sup> Thenceforward

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<sup>1</sup> *Vignaux, Memorials.* Fol. 7.

the archbishops of Turin persecuted them, as much as lay in their power, rendering them odious to their princes; who hearing of the good report that their neighbours gave of their mild and honest conversation, and that they were a simple people, fearing God, and of a good deportment, without deceit or malice, loving integrity and plain dealing, always ready to serve their princes; and that they very willingly and cheerfully yielded to them all dutiful obedience; being moreover in such favour and esteem with the people their neighbours, that they endeavoured to get the youth of Piedmont into their service, and to procure nurses among them to bring up their young children: the said princes hearing thus well of them, were resolved for a long time not to molest and disturb them; but the priests and monks, who were frequently amongst them, getting no handle from their belief and behaviour, charged them at length with an infinite number of forged calumnies; and whensoever they went into Piedmont upon business, they always apprehended the Christians, and delivered them into the hands of the inquisitors, and the inquisitors to the executioner, so that there was hardly any town or city in Piedmont, in which some of them were not put to death. Jordan Tertian was burnt at Suse; Hyppolite Ronsier at Turin; Villermin Ambroise was hanged at Meane; and also Anthony Hiun. Hugh Chiampe de Fenestrelles, being apprehended at Suse, was conveyed to Turin, where his entrails were torn out and put into a bason, and he himself afterwards was most cruelly martyred. Among which servants of God, there were some who maintained that truth which had been known for above two hundred and fifty years among them. But among all the rest, the constancy of Catelin Girard is worthy of our remembrance. Standing upon the block whereon he was to be burnt at Revel in the Marquisate of Saluces, he requested his executioners to give him a couple of stones, which they refused to do, fearing that he designed to fling them at somebody; but he protesting the contrary, at last they delivered them unto him; who having them in his hand, said unto them; 'When I have eaten these stones, then you shall see an end of that religion for which you put me to death;' and so cast the stones upon the ground.<sup>2</sup>

The fires were kindled till the year 1488, at which time they resolved to assault them by open force; because they perceived that the constancy of those whom they did publicly put to death, drew a great number of others to the knowledge of God; and that by this means they should never accomplish their design. Therefore they levied men to join with Albert de Capitaneis, commissioned by Popes Sixtus IV. and Innocent VIII. There were eighteen thousand soldiers raised, besides a great number of the inhabitants of Piedmont, who ran to the plunder from all parts. They marched all at once to Angrogne, Lucerne, La Perouse, St. Martin, Praviglarm, and Biolet, which is in the Marquisate of Saluces. They raised troops also in Vauclouson in Dauphiny, overrunning the valley of Pragela; to the end, that being obliged to defend themselves, they might not be able to assist their neighbours, the Waldensian Churches in Piedmont. All this was ordered by the singular providence of God, that they divided their troops into parties, rather out of pride, than for their better expedition. For notwithstanding the Waldenses were employed in their own defence, and could not succour one another, yet the enemy by this division did so

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<sup>2</sup> Vignaux, Memorials. Fol. 6.

lessen their forces, that they were everywhere beaten; but especially in the valley of Angrogne, where they made their most violent attack. As that levy of men could not be raised, without suspicion, that it was against themselves; so they accordingly made preparation for their reception, keeping themselves in the strait passes, where but few men were able to attack them; being also armed with long targets of wood, which wholly covered them, and whereon the arrows of their enemies struck without any damage to themselves. The foremost being thus armed and covered, the rest did good service with their bows and cross-bows under the said targets. As the enemy endeavoured to approach the passes, the women and children being spectators upon their knees, prayed in their own language, "O dio, aiutaci; O God, help us!" Whereat the enemies scoffing, among others, Captain Saquet, counterfeiting the said women, was slain and cast headlong from the mountain into a deep bottom, which is still called the Gulf of Saquet. At the same time, a captain, named Le Noir de Montdeni, as he cried out to the soldiers to put them to death, was killed with the shot of an arrow in the throat, which the soldiers perceiving, and also that they were covered with rocks, and themselves with stones and arrows, they all betook themselves to flight, and the greatest part of them threw themselves down from the rocks. The Waldenses took notice of another effect of divine Providence; that the enemies approaching to their strongest place by nature, which is in the valley of Angrogne, called Le Pré de la Tour, where they might have fortified themselves, and made themselves masters of the said valley, God sent so thick a cloud, and so dark a fog, that the enemies could hardly see one another, insomuch that they had no leisure or opportunity to know the strength of the place, or to stay there; whereupon the Waldenses taking heart, followed the pursuit so vigorously, that the persecutors being all dispersed, and not seeing which way they went, the greatest part fell headlong down the mountains; and betaking themselves to flight, discharged themselves of their arms and booty, which they had gotten at the entrance into the valley, where they had poured out the wine, and the corn, and loaded their servants with the most valuable moveables of the Waldenses.

It pleased God at length to touch the heart of their prince with some compassion towards those poor people. Philip VIII, duke of Savoy, and prince of Piedmont, declared that he would not have that people, who had been always most loyal, faithful, and obedient to him, to be so rigorously handled by way of arms; being contented that a dozen of the principal among them should come to Pignerol, where he was, to beg pardon for all the rest, for having taken up arms in their own defence, which he gave them to understand by a prelate whom he sent to Praisut. They deputing the said embassy of twelve to do whatever his highness required of them, he kindly received them, and forgave them all that was past during the war, upon paying a certain sum of money for the charges of it. And whereas he had been informed, that their young children were born with black throats, and that they were hairy, and had four rows of teeth, he commanded some of them to be brought before him to Pignerol; and seeing them all fair and perfect creatures, he was much displeased with himself for being so easily imposed upon as to believe the report made to him concerning that people; declaring withal, his pleasure was, that thenceforward they should have the same liberties and privileges as formerly, and as all the rest of his subjects in Piedmont did enjoy.

Notwithstanding, the monks inquisitors sent out processes every day, against as many of them as they could apprehend. Especially they lay in ambush, in a convent near to Pignerol, whence they delivered them to the secular power. That persecution lasted till the year 1532, when they resolved to order their churches in such manner, that that exercise, which was before performed in covert, might be manifest to every one; and that their pastors should preach the gospel openly, without regard to any persecutions which might befall them upon that account.

His highness the duke was speedily advertised of this change, and much incensed thereat; so that he commanded Pantaleon Bersor to hasten into the valleys with his troops; which he so readily performed, that before the Waldenses were apprised of it, he had entered their valleys with five hundred men, part foot, and part horse, ransacking, pillaging, and laying waste whatever came in their way. The people leaving their ploughs and tillage, betook themselves to their mountain passes, and with their slings, charged their enemies with such a shower of stones, and with such violence, that they were constrained to fly, and leave their prey behind them; many of them being killed upon the spot. This news was presently brought to his highness, being likewise told what experience had taught them before, that it was not the way to reclaim and subdue those people by arms, the strength of their country so favouring them, and they being better acquainted with the straights and passes of the mountains, than the assailants; and that therefore there was no good to be done, when "*the skin of one Waldensian must be purchased at the expense of the lives of a dozen of his other subjects.*" He thought it therefore not convenient to molest them any more by arms; but only that they should be apprehended one by one, as they came into Piedmont; and that exemplary justice should be inflicted upon them, if they changed not their faith; that thus they might gradually be destroyed, to the terror of all other inhabitants of the said valleys, and so their ruin might be procured insensibly, and without the hazard of any other of the prince's subjects.

All this did not hinder them from persisting in their resolution; and, to the end that all things might be done in order, all the heads of every family, with their pastors, assembled together, out of all their valleys, at Angrogne, on September 12, in the year 1535; where it was certified by one of them that their brethren, the Waldenses of Provence and Dauphiny, had sent George Morel and Peter Mascon, their pastors, into Germany, to confer with Œcolampadius, Bucer, and other servants of God, who there preached the gospel, concerning their faith, which had time out of mind been transmitted from father to son. He reported: That Œcolampadius and Bucer had found that God had been very merciful and gracious unto us, in that he had preserved us undefiled in the midst of so many idolatries and superstitions, which in the ages foregoing had infected all Christendom, under the tyranny of the antichrist of Rome—that they encouraged us by holy admonition and persuasions, and exhorted us not to bury those talents which God had imparted unto us—and that they looked upon it as an evil thing that we have so long deferred the public profession of the gospel, by causing it to be preached in the ears, and to the knowledge of every one; leaving the event of things to God, to dispose whatsoever it shall please him should befall us in the promoting of his glory, and the advancement of his Son's kingdom. Afterwards, having read the letters of Œcolampadius and Bucer, which were sent to them, as well as to their brethren, the Waldenses of Provence and

Dauphiny, the propositions or articles following were ordered, read, and approved, and unanimously signed and sworn to by all the assistants, as what they would preserve, observe, believe, and inviolably retain among them, without any contradiction; and that this they would do, by the grace of God, as being agreeable to the doctrine which hath been delivered from father to son among them, and taken out of the word of God.<sup>3</sup>

RULES OF FAITH AND PRACTICE ADOPTED BY ALL THE WALDENSES, WHO MET IN ONE ASSEMBLY AT ANGROGNE, SEPTEMBER 12, 1535.

*Article I.* Divine service cannot be duly performed, but in spirit and truth; for God is a spirit, and whosoever will pray unto him must pray in spirit.

*II.* All that have been, or shall be saved, were elected by God before all worlds.

*III.* They who are saved cannot miss of salvation.

*IV.* Whosoever maintaineth free-will, wholly denieth predestination, and the Grace of God.

*V.* No work is called good but that which is commanded by God; and none evil but that which he forbiddeth.

*VI.* A Christian may swear by the name of God without any contradiction to what is written in the fifth chapter of Matthew, provided that he who sweareth, taketh not the name of the Lord in vain. Now that person sweareth not in vain, whose oath redoundeth to the glory of God, and the good of his neighbour. A man also may swear in judgment, because he that beareth the office of a magistrate, be he Christian or infidel, derives his power from God.

*VII.* Auricular confession is not enjoined by God; and it is concluded according to the holy scriptures, that the true confession of a Christian consists in confessing himself to one only God, to whom belong honour and glory. There is another kind of confession, which is, when a man reconcileth himself to his neighbour, whereof mention is made in the fifth of Matthew. The third manner of confession is, when, as a man's sin is public, and exposed to the notice and censure of all men, so his confession and acknowledgment of the fault be as public.

*VIII.* We must rest or cease upon the Lord's day from all our labours, out of zeal for the honour and glory of God; for the better exercise of charity towards our neighbour, and our better attendance upon the hearing of the word of God.

*IX.* It is not lawful for a Christian to revenge himself on his enemy, in any case or manner whatsoever.

*X.* A Christian may exercise the office of a magistrate over Christians.

*XI.* There is no certain time determined for the fast of a Christian; and it doth not appear in the word of God that the Lord hath commanded or appointed certain days.

*XII.* Marriage is not prohibited to any man, of what quality or condition soever he be.

*XIII.* Whosoever forbiddeth marriage, teacheth a diabolical doctrine.

*XIV.* He who hath not the gift of continency is bound to marry.

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<sup>3</sup>This admonition or remonstrance given by Œcolampadius and Bucer, to George Morel and Peter Mascon, is in the Memorials of Morel, fol. 5.

XV. The ministers of the word of God ought not to be removed from one place to another, unless it be to the great benefit and advantage of the Church.

XVI. It is no ways repugnant to the apostolical communion, that the ministers should possess anything in particular, to provide for the maintenance of their families.

XVII. As to the sacraments, it hath been determined by the holy scriptures, that we have but two sacramental signs or symbols, which Christ Jesus hath left unto us: the one is baptism, the other the eucharist or Lord's supper, which we receive to demonstrate our perseverance in the faith, according to the promise we made in our baptism in our infancy: as also in remembrance of that great benefit which Jesus Christ hath conferred upon us, when he laid down his life for our redemption, cleansing us with his most precious blood.

Those articles being resolved upon by them, astonished the Romish priests, who were then among them to collect the revenues of their cures, so that being out of all hopes of ever seeing those people reclaimed, or reduced to the obedience of the Church of Rome by any violence and compulsion, much less of their own accord, and perceiving the door of their gain to be shut, they departed without speaking a word. Upon this their retreat, the mass vanished of itself in the valleys of the Waldenses; and because they had only the New Testament, and some books of the Old translated into the Waldensian tongue, they resolved speedily to send the whole bible to the press, their books being only manuscripts, and those few in number. They sent therefore to Neufchatel in Switzerland, where they gave one thousand five hundred crowns in gold to a printer, who published the first impression of the bible which was seen in France.<sup>4</sup> In the year 1536, they sent Martin Gonin to Geneva to provide a large supply of those books which he should see necessary for the instruction of the people. But they were balked in their attempt, because that good man was apprehended for a spy as he was passing over the Mountain de Gap, by George Marten, Lord de Champollion. As soon as Gonin was discovered to be a Waldensian, he was sent to Grenoble, and there confined in prison. Afterwards, in the night time, he was cast into the river Lyzere, for fear he should declare his faith before the people.<sup>5</sup> The monk-inquisitor who delivered him to the secular power told them that it was not convenient that the world should hear him, "because," said he, "it is to be feared that they who hear him may become worse than himself."

It then happened that there were wars in Piedmont, between Francis I. and the Prince of Piedmont, which fell out providentially for those Waldenses; for during the continuance of those confusions they were at quiet, until Pope Paul III. solicited the parliament of Turin to take some violent course against them, as pernicious and mischievous heretics, whensoever they should be delivered into their hands by the inquisitors. That parliament caused a great number to be burnt at Turin, in imitation of other parliaments in France, who in those times burnt all those whom they called Lutherans.

<sup>4</sup> Ecclesiastical History of the Churches of France, p. 37.

<sup>5</sup> Book of Martyrs of our Time, lib. 3, fol. iii.

The Waldenses appealed to the king, presenting to him their petition that they might not be persecuted by the parliament for the profession of that religion, in which they and their ancestors had lived for so many hundred years, with the permission of their princes. But the king enjoined them to live according to the laws of the Church of Rome, upon pain of being punished as heretics. He likewise commanded the parliament at Turin to cause all his subjects within their jurisdiction to profess his religion; adding, that he "*did not burn the Lutherans throughout his whole kingdom of France, to make a reservation of them in the Alps.*"

The parliament endeavoured to put the king's decrees speedily in execution; and to that end enjoined the Waldenses, upon pain of death, immediately to dismiss their ministers, and to receive priests among them to sing mass, in conformity to all others of the king's subjects. They replied, that they could not obey any such injunctions, contrary to the commandment of God, whom they would obey rather than man, in matters relating to his service. But if the king had not at that time been elsewhere engaged, doubtless the parliament would have compelled them to do that by force, to which mere injunctions could never have brought them. They therefore were contented to prosecute them by the Inquisition, and to receive from the monks those whom they condemned to be burnt. But in the year 1555, they increased the persecution. Having condemned to the fire Bartholomew Hector, a stationer, who suffered death at Turin, because he died with admirable constancy, insomuch that he edified even the assistants, as well as others the standers by, so that he drew tears from their eyes, and compassionate expressions from their lips; they unanimously justifying and applauding him for his good and holy speeches and prayers to God—the parliament took occasion thereupon to use their utmost endeavours to subvert and overthrow this profession in its very source and original, and to make use of the king's authority to constrain the people either to submit to the laws of the Church of Rome, or else to suffer a miserable death. To this end, the parliament of Turin deputed the President of Julian, and an assessor named de Ecclesia, to repair to those places, and there to put in execution whatsoever they thought proper, either to the reduction or extermination of the said people, with a promise to assist them in whatsoever should be necessary to that purpose, according to the advice and counsel that they should receive from them.<sup>6</sup>

The president with his assessor took their journey to Perouse, and caused public proclamation to be made in the name of the king, that every one of the inhabitants should go to mass upon pain of death. Afterwards they came to Pignerol, where they summoned several to appear before them. Among others, there appeared a poor simple labouring man, whom the president ordered to have baptism again administered to his child, who had been lately baptized by the Waldensian minister, near Angrogne. The poor man desired so much respite, as to offer up his prayers to God, before he answered him. Which, with some laughter, being granted, he fell down upon his knees before all the standers by, and having concluded his prayer, he said to the president, that he would cause his child to be re-baptized, provided he would oblige himself by a bond, signed with his own hand, to discharge and clear him from the sin that he should

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<sup>6</sup> Book of Martyrs of our Time, lib. 8, fol. 123.



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